

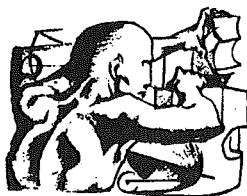


Hans Eberhard Mayer

MONTJOIE

Studies in Crusade History
in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer

Edited by
Benjamin Z. Kedar,
Jonathan Riley-Smith and
Rudolf Hiestand



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Hans Eberhard Mayer — An Appreciation

Among contemporary medievalists, Hans Eberhard Mayer stands out, *inter alia*, for a marked lack of parochialism. Born in 1932 in Nürnberg, he spent much of his childhood in Nazi Berlin and attended *Gymnasiums* in post-war Berlin and Heidelberg, but almost immediately upon graduating in 1951 left for Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, where he studied for a year and made his first observations of life in America, a country to which he would return time and again. His studies of History, English and Latin literature and philology at Heidelberg and Innsbruck culminated in 1955 in a doctoral thesis on the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*: the choice of subject was an early manifestation of intellectual interests unfettered by present-day national boundaries. Likewise, his work on the staff of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in Munich from 1956 to 1967 concentrated on the history of post-Carolingian Burgundy. From 1967 onwards he has served as professor of medieval and modern history at the University of Kiel, with his research entirely dedicated to the history of the crusades and with protracted spans of time spent at Rome, Dumbarton Oaks, Yale, Princeton, Jerusalem, Oxford and elsewhere. Almost half of his publications that appeared in this period have been written in English and French — a strikingly unusual proportion.

Mayer's work on crusader history may be likened to a pilgrim's stubborn progress to a remote yet fixed destination, with each stretch of road that lies ahead posing challenges that must be met before the next one is taken on. For more than thirty years, his goal has been the edition of the charters of the Frankish kings of Jerusalem, a goal that remains as yet unattained; but even as he has been drawing closer to his objective, he has produced a plethora of publications that have won him the respect and gratitude of all students of crusade history.

His *Bibliographie der Kreuzzüge*, first published in 1960 and containing 5,362 items, supplied a basic research tool that had been badly needed since the demise of the *Revue de l'Orient latin* before World War I. In 1969 he updated this bibliography by discussing 296 additional publications; twenty years later, in the concluding volume of *A History of the Crusades*, he published a bibliographical chapter that amounts to a revised edition of the book of 1960. But he went well beyond the listing or discussing of items. In hundreds of notices published regularly in the *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* and elsewhere, he has been reviewing books and articles on crusade history in its widest sense. These notices do not only cover much of the work done in the field, but also make a fascinating reading, for it is in them more than elsewhere in his writings that he gives free rein to his humour and irony, sometimes affording glimpses of his rare skill as anecdote-teller.

Work on the charters of the kings of Jerusalem led to the discovery of several unknown documents, which Mayer published in a series of articles from 1964 onwards. It led likewise to the exposure of numerous known charters as forgeries,

and to the solidly documented assertion in one of his most brilliant studies that a forger's workshop in Acre was responsible for many of them. The concentration on the charters required an ever more intimate knowledge of the royal chancery, a subject to which Mayer devoted several articles and with which he is dealing in a book to be published in the near future. His detailed study of the use of seals of the Kingdom of Jerusalem has also been another offshoot of his efforts in this area.

The study of the charters soon became intertwined with a study of the problems of the monarchy, the relations of Jerusalem's kings with their nobles, the church and the urban communes. Indeed, there are few aspects of the dynastic, constitutional or ecclesiastical history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem — and the Principality of Antioch — that Mayer has not dealt with in his writings.

As early as 1965 he published a full-scale history of the crusades, giving his view of the crusading phenomenon and of the vicissitudes of the states the crusaders established. The book's subsequent versions — the English translation of 1972, the sixth, revised German edition of 1985 and its English translation of 1988, the eighth German edition of 1995 with further additions in the footnotes — attest to his wish to integrate, time and again, the results of recent research, often modifying his original views in the process.

His work has always had its roots in his training as a 'Monumentist,' focusing on the particulars without losing sight of the panorama. All his published work, whether studies of leading figures like Baldwin I or Melisende or treatments of institutional issues such as bishoprics or coronation rites, are enlightened by a close attention to what the material actually reveals. His approach is illustrated best in what is perhaps his greatest achievement in the field of interpretative history, since it has utterly changed the way the constitutional history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem is viewed. Until the mid-1970s a kind of theoretical constitutionalism held the field and a new model was in the process of being constructed. Mayer turned his back on the 'bird's-eye view' of the constitution, the wide-ranging interest in tracing developments over two centuries, and in a series of outstanding articles concentrated instead on studies of lordships and families on the ground, where naturally the weakness in, and the deficiencies of, a general model came to be most exposed. He is the chief architect of a historiographical revolution, not unlike that which shook English medieval history when the Stubbsian model of the developing constitution was rejected.

Mayer's published output has been truly astounding; as Robert Huygens remarked in a *laudatio* at a conference held in Mayer's honour in Jerusalem in 1992, 'you write more rapidly than some of your admirers are actually able to read.' But the published output represents only a part of his scholarly work. The rest is dispersed in scores of lengthy letters in which he comments in great detail on drafts which colleagues and friends send him. These letters reverberate with Mayer's *viva vox*, document his careful weighings of one possibility as against another, and his afterthoughts which sometimes induce him to jettison a line of argumentation altogether — 'his disputations with himself,' as Joshua Prawer

once put it. Excerpts from a letter written in Paris on 20 August 1990, in which Mayer attempts to clarify the meaning of the phrase 'in territorio de Caimont' in a royal charter of 1182, may serve as a sample of these vast, unpublished contributions to crusade studies:

Now with regard to *territorium* I work of course on my impressions. This is not a terribly good piece of evidence but at least it is founded on three decades of reading these charters. *Territorium* is, in my opinion, an administrative unit of land with (at least approximately) fixed borders. This would cover even the case of Mimas but it is my distinct impression that it means (allowing perhaps for some exceptions) big or important units rather than small or unimportant ones. In the royal domain we have the 'territory' (i.e. district) of Jerusalem, Nablus, Acre and Tyre. It is used for all four districts. Outside the royal domain it means the lordships, in other words mostly relatively big units, but certainly units with a special legal status. It is, of course, Beyer who taught us this meaning and consistently used it as a criterion in his papers, justly so, I believe. It may also mean the *contado* of a town but in most cases where it is used with this possible meaning this would at the same time denote a lordship [...] Sometimes, if one wants to know the meaning of a word, it pays to look at the synonyms. In this case, *terra* can be one, although its meaning is necessarily of a wider spectrum than *territorium*. RRH no. 57 uses *terra* but in the same way as *territorium* had been used: a big, legally distinct unit. RRH no. 57 uses *terminium*, again in the same way ('in terminio de Harenc,' 'in terminio Delthio' [Tell Danit?]). It also speaks of 'in terra Capharta' (= Kafartab, see Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din*, p. 217f.). Kafartab is smaller than Harim, but whether this would justify a differentiation between *terminium* and *terra* seems to be doubtful and would hinge on the proper identification of Delthium which Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 540, retained in its Latin form without identifying it. Is there anything to be gained from Dussaud, *Topographie*, or does Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, identify it in his gazetteer? Another synonym is *dominatus*. RRH no. 112: 'in territorio Ascalonis seu illo dominatu' (*seu* means more often 'and' than 'or', e.g. RRH no. 174: 'conventui monachorum seu sanctimonialium' for the double monastery of Bethany). RRH no. 113/114: 'in territorio et dominio eiusdem civitatis predictae Ascalonis' and 'in territorio vel [meaning here also "and"] dominio Ramatensi.' Here it is clear that *territorium* is a lordship or a big fief (Ascalon as a future lordship of the kingdom, Ramla as a fief of the count of Jaffa, but the biggest one of them).

Territorium in the sense of 'area' of a small place as of a casal is rare, of that I am certain. You might supplement your examples with Delaborde, *Chartes de Josaphat*, no. 14: 'casale sancti Georgii, quod est iuxta Medan, cum omni territorio suo' and ibid. no. 16: 'casale sancti Iobi cum territorio pertinentie eiusdem.' I think that these are, in fact, better examples for the meaning 'area' than Mimas is. The case of Mimas begins in 1141 [*Correction on reverse!*] in Bresc-Bautier no. 8: 'in territorio eiusdem civitatis [scil. Acre] ecclesiam sancte Marie de Mimas.' [*The correction reads:* It begins actually in 1138 in RRH no. 180 = Bresc-Bautier no. 60: 'aliam ecclesiam in territorio cuiusdam casalis nomine Amimas,' but there can be no doubt that this church was not like a Norwegian church in the middle of nowhere between various villages or farms, serving them all, but in Mimas itself. So *territorium* makes no sense here, although in the case of Mimas it had a rather long history]. [...] From my impression of the normal meaning of *territorium* I would conclude that 'in territorio de Caimont' of 1182 refers to some separate and recognizable unit of *Caymont*. If it were royal domain I would

have expected in RRH no. 614: 'centum scilicet bisancios ad fundam Accon et in territorio de Acon [or: et in eiusdem territorio] quatuor carrucas terre in casali, quod dicitur Caimont.' At least this is what I would have written if I had been the chancery scribe. If you interpret Caimont as royal domain in 1182 you must necessarily consider it as a separate district of the domain, like Jerusalem or Nablus. That makes no sense, it was too small for that. Even Daron near Gaza which according to John of Ibelin had a royal Cour des Bourgeois was de facto part of the domain district of Jerusalem (HEM, *Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal*, p. 66). You might interpret *territorium* in RRH no. 614 as 'area,' but it is rare and one does not see why the scribe should not have written 'quatuor carrucas terre in casali de Caimont.'

I think that 'lordship' answers best to 'in territorio de Caimont' of 1182. If you wish to retain your argument, however, that in 1182 Caimont is royal domain, then you should argue from RRH no. 587 = Strehlke no. 11 of 1179.[...]

The same qualities have marked Mayer's teaching. In the best of medieval traditions he attracted a small number of 'chosen ones' whom he initiated to crusade history through a genuine *confabulatio*. A rigorous master, strictly adhering to the most exacting standards, he was also ready to extend help at all times: there were no fixed office hours or appointments pre-arranged by a secretary, with his door always open and himself often knocking on a student's door for an exchange of ideas. This is what his collaborators experienced in one form or another from 1968 onwards, from Rudolf Hiestand through Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie and Gerhard Rösch to Thomas Vogtherr and Thomas Eck.

* * *

Montjoie, the title of this collection of papers honouring Hans Mayer on the occasion of his 65th birthday, has been chosen for a number of reasons. As is well known, the traditional site of the tomb of the Prophet Samuel was called Mons Gaudii, or Montjoie, as it was there that the first crusaders had their first glimpse of Jerusalem, and we believe that it is appropriate to recall that ecstatic moment in crusade history when paying homage to a man whose interest in the subject was first aroused by Sir Walter Scott's novels and whose admiration for whom he once called 'these beautiful damsels and gallant knights of great renown' is so apparent. Besides, one of Mayer's early discoveries has been the charter by which King Baldwin V confirmed in 1185 the possessions of the Premonstratensian house of St Samuel of Montjoie. More recently, he did his best to make sure that the vestiges of a twelfth-century Frankish village uncovered just south of Montjoie were preserved. And from the heights of Montjoie one can see Jerusalem's National Library, to which Mayer has bequeathed his superb collection of books on crusade history, proposing, with typical modesty, that it should bear not his name but that of Reinhold Röhrich.

Jonathan S.C. Riley-Smith, Benjamin Z. Kedar, Rudolf Hiestand

List of Abbreviations

AOL	<i>Archives de l'Orient latin</i>
Cart Hosp	<i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1300</i> , ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx. 4 vols. Paris, 1894–1906.
Cart St Sép	<i>Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem</i> , ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 15. Paris, 1984.
Chartes Josaphat	<i>Chartes de la Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat</i> , ed. Henri F. Delaborde, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 19. Paris, 1880.
Cont. WT	<i>La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)</i> , ed. Margaret Ruth Morgan, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 14. Paris, 1982.
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DA	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
Eracles	<i>Le Estoire de Eracles Empereur</i> , RHC Occ 2.
Ernoul	<i>Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier</i> , ed. Louis de Mas-Latrie. Paris, 1871.
FC	Fulcher of Chartres, <i>Historia Hierosolymitana</i> , ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer. Heidelberg, 1913.
Mansi, Concilia	G. D. Mansi, ed., <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i>
Mayer, Crusades	Hans E. Mayer, <i>The Crusades</i> , trans. J. Gillingham. 2nd ed., Oxford, 1988.
Mayer, Kings and Lords	Hans E. Mayer, <i>Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten</i> , Variorum Reprints, Collected Studies 171. London, 1983.
Mayer, Probleme	Hans E. Mayer, <i>Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem</i> , Variorum Reprints, Collected Studies 178. London, 1983.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Outremer	<i>Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer</i> , ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer and R.C. Smail. Jerusalem, 1982.
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina

PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society Library
RHC	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades
DArm	Documents arméniens
Occ	Historiens occidentaux
Or	Historiens orientaux
RRH	Reinhold Röhricht, comp., <i>Regesta regni hierosolymitani</i> . Innsbruck, 1893.
RRH Add	Reinhold Röhricht, comp., <i>Additamentum</i> . Innsbruck, 1904.
RIS	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores
NS	New Series
ROL	<i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i>
RS	Rolls Series
Runciman, <i>Crusades</i>	Steven Runciman, <i>A History of the Crusades</i> . 3 vols. Cambridge, 1951-54.
WT	William of Tyre, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63-63A. Turnhout, 1986.
TTh	Gottlieb L. F. Tafel and Georg M. Thomas, eds., <i>Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig</i> . 3 vols. Vienna, 1856-57.
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

Publications of Hans Eberhard Mayer

1958

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1959

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1961

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1962

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1963

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1964

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1965

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18. 'Die Alpen und das Königreich Burgund,' in *Die Alpen in der europäischen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Reichenau-Vorträge 1961–1962*, Vorträge und Forschungen 10 (Konstanz/Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 57–76.

1966

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1976

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1977

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Karl der Große und die Endkaiser-Weissagung: Der Sieger über den Islam kommt aus dem Westen

Hannes Möhring

Tübingen

I

Unter dem Eindruck der dramatischen, in wenigen Jahrzehnten grundlegend die Welt verändernden arabisch-islamischen Machtentfaltung verfaßte in der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts ein nicht näher bekannter syrischer Christ, der den Namen des Bischofs und Märtyrers Methodios (gest. um 311) als Pseudonym wählte, eine Weissagung über die dem Weltende vorausgehenden Ereignisse und verhiess darin seinen Glaubensbrüdern die baldige Vernichtung der Araber durch den letzten römischen Kaiser, der am Ende seiner Regierung in Jerusalem alle Macht an Gott zurückgeben und der Schreckensherrschaft des Antichrist Platz machen werde.¹

Die Weissagung des Ps.-Methodios ist in eine sieben Jahrtausende umfassende Darstellung der Weltgeschichte eingebettet, wobei der Beginn des sechsten und siebenten Jahrtausends unklar bleibt.² Ps.-Methodios schreibt unter anderem: Am Anfang des fünften Jahrtausends seien die abscheulichen Ismaeliten, auch Midianiter genannt,³ über die Völker der Welt hergefallen. Ihr Siegeszug habe sie bis zum großen Rom⁴ und weiter geführt. Als die Ismaeliten die Völker bereits 60 Jahre oder achteinhalb (Jahr-)Wochen lang geknechtet hatten, sei ihr

¹ Über die Entstehung, den Wandel und die Wirkung der Weissagung vom Weltkaiser der Endzeit hoffe ich demnächst eine ausführliche Monographie vorzulegen. In den letzten Jahren wurde intensiv über Ps.-Methodios gearbeitet. Vor allem wurde der syrische Text seiner Schrift kritisch ediert und übersetzt, vgl. *Die syrische Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodius*, ed. G.J. Reinink, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* [= CSCO] 540, *Scriptores syri* 220 (Louvain, 1993); *Die syrische Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodius*, tr. G.J. Reinink, CSCO 541, *Scriptores syri* 221 (Louvain, 1993). Zum derzeitigen Forschungsstand vgl. *ibid.*, S. V-XLV. Die folgende Inhaltsangabe basiert auf Reininks Edition und Übersetzung.

² Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen. Pseudomethodius, Adso und die Tiburtinische Sibylle* (Halle a.S., 1898), S. 10, glaubt sogar, Ps.-Methodios lasse das fünfte und sechste Jahrtausend ausfallen, also auf das vierte unmittelbar das siebente folgen. Dies ist aber nicht mit dem Umstand in Einklang zu bringen, daß der syrische Text von einer Araberinvasion im fünften und einer zweiten im siebenten Jahrtausend spricht. In der von Sackur edierten lateinischen Version erfolgt die erste Araberinvasion freilich nicht zu Beginn des fünften, sondern am Ende des vierten Jahrtausends.

³ Genesis 37.25–28 werden die Ismaeliten als Midianiter bezeichnet, umgekehrt Richter 8.24 die Midianiter als Ismaeliten. Vielleicht spielt Ps.-Methodios mit der Bezeichnung 'Midianiter' auf die Einwohner von Medina an, vgl. G.J. Reinink, 'Ismael der Wildesel in der Wüste. Zur Typologie der Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodios,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 75 (1982), 339 n. 20.

⁴ Damit könnte außer Rom auch Konstantinopel gemeint sein.

Stolz unerträglich geworden und Gott habe sie durch Gideon wieder zurück in die Wüste gejagt. Diese erste, frei erfundene Welteroberung durch die Ismaeliten möchte Ps.-Methodios als Praefiguration des von ihm (im siebenten Jahrtausend seiner Zeitrechnung) persönlich erlebten, dem Leser gleichwohl als noch zukünftig hingestellten Arabersturms verstanden wissen, um so die Berechtigung von Hoffnungen auf ein baldiges Ende der arabisch-islamischen Herrschaft zu erweisen.

Auch in der weiteren Beschreibung des fünften Jahrtausends sieht der heutige Leser die herkömmlichen Überlieferungen der antiken Geschichte über den Haufen geworfen, wenn es heißt, König Philipp von Makedonien habe Kūšyat, die Tochter des Königs Pīl (der Elefant)⁵ von Kusch (Äthiopien) — also nicht die berühmte Olympias — geheiratet.⁶ Ihr gemeinsamer Sohn Alexander, König der Makedonier und erster König der Griechen, habe die Stadt Alexandria gegründet und dort zwölf Jahre regiert, den Meder Darius getötet(!) und einen Zug nach Osten bis zu jenem Meer hin unternommen, das Feuer der Sonne heiße.⁷ Dort seien Alexander vom Aussehen wie von den Eßgewohnheiten her abstoßende Völker begegnet, nämlich die Söhne des Japhet. Diese 22 unreinen Völker, unter ihnen Gog und Magog, habe Alexander durch ein zwischen zwei Bergen errichtetes Tor im Norden der Erde eingeschlossen, das weder mit Gewalt noch durch Magie zu öffnen sei. Nachdem Alexander ohne Frau und Söhne gestorben sei und seine Heerführer die Macht übernommen hätten, habe Alexanders Mutter Kūšyat es vorgezogen, nach Kusch zu ihrem Vater zurückzukehren. Bald darauf habe Būz, der König der Griechen und Erbauer der im Meer liegenden Residenz Byzantium, um ihre Hand anhalten lassen. Nach der Hochzeit sei Kūšyat nochmals Mutter geworden, indem sie ihrem zweiten Mann Būz eine Tochter namens Byzantia geboren habe. Diese Halbschwester Alexanders des Großen habe Romulus, den König der Römer, geheiratet, der ihr als Morgengabe die Stadt Rom geschenkt habe. Von ihren drei Söhnen habe Romulus (der Jüngere) über Rom, Urbanus über Byzantium und Claudius über Alexandria geherrscht. Auf welche Weise Byzantium und Alexandria unter die Herrschaft des Königs der Römer bzw. seiner Söhne gekommen sind, wird nicht klar — vielleicht möchte Ps.-Methodios Byzantium und Alexandria als das Erbe der Byzantia betrachtet wissen. Offen bleibt auch die Frage der Beziehungen zwischen Rom, Byzantium und Alexandria bzw. ihrer Verschmelzung zu einem Reich in der Zeit danach. Es heißt in den folgenden Ausführungen nur lapidar, das Königreich der Griechen sei dasjenige der Römer bzw. der Christen.

Die Konstruktion einer Verbindung zwischen Äthiopien und Rom/Byzanz ist Ps.-Methodios unter anderem deshalb wichtig, weil er Psalm 68.32 entgegen

⁵ Unter diesem Namen scheint ein Gegner Alexanders des Großen, der indische Herrscher Poros, verborgen zu sein, vgl. *Apokalypse*, tr. Reinink, S. 21; aber auch Koran, Sure 105 ('der Elefant'), in der mit dem Elefanten der äthiopische Herrscher gemeint ist.

⁶ Für diese Behauptung gibt es in der Literatur keinen weiteren Beleg.

⁷ Wo angeblich der vierte Sohn Noahs, Yōñtōn, ein Reich gegründet hatte.

der Auffassung 'vieler Brüder der Geistlichkeit' nicht auf Äthiopien, sondern auf das — seiner Meinung nach durch den Besitz des Heiligen Kreuzes unbesiegbare — griechisch-römische Reich bezieht, das als das letzte Reich der Weltgeschichte mit einer die Ankunft des Antichrist hinauszögernden Funktion⁸ (am Ende der Zeiten) gemäß Psalm 68.32 die Hände zu Gott erheben — und das heißt in der syrischen Bibelübersetzung:⁹ ihm die Herrschaft übergeben¹⁰ — werde. Diese im Psalm ausdrücklich auf Kusch (Äthiopien) bezogene Aussage möchte Ps.-Methodios im Sinne von 1 Kor. 15.24 verstanden wissen, wo zu lesen steht, am Ende der Zeiten¹¹ werde der als erster von den Toten auferweckte Christus jede Macht, Gewalt und Kraft vernichten und seine Herrschaft Gott, dem Vater, übergeben. Um ein solches Verständnis zu ermöglichen, tritt bei Ps.-Methodios der byzantinische Kaiser (als Sohn der Kūšyat) an die Stelle von Christus (als Sohn Gottes).¹²

Mit der als noch zukünftig hingestellten zweiten Weltherrschaft der Ismaeliten im siebenten Jahrtausend läßt Ps.-Methodios die Beschreibung der Vergangenheit in eine Weissagung der Zukunft übergehen. Er schreibt, daß die als Strafe Gottes für die Sünden der Christen aus der Wüste hervorbrechenden Ismaeliten die Byzantiner besiegen und die folgenden Länder erobern würden: Armenien, Isaurien, Kappadokien, Kilikien, Persien, das Römerreich, Syrien, das (Gelobte) Land der Verheißung, das sich mit (gefangenen?) Menschen von überall her füllen werde, sowie die Orte des Ostens und die Inseln des Meeres und außerdem — die Lesarten sind problematisch — Afrika (oder Phrygien¹³ oder Persien?¹⁴), Griechenland (oder Adana?¹⁵) und Sizilien (oder Seleukia?¹⁶). In

⁸ Vgl. 2 ThesS. 2.6–7: 'Ihr wißt auch, was ihn (d.h. den Sohn des Verderbens) jetzt noch zurückhält, damit er erst zur festgesetzten Zeit offenbar wird. Denn die geheime Macht der Gesetzswidrigkeit ist schon am Werk; nur muß erst der beseitigt werden, der sie bis jetzt noch zurückhält.'

⁹ Nach der Zählung der Pešitta: Psalm 68.31.

¹⁰ Vgl. zu dieser Übersetzung *Apokalypse*, tr. Reinink, S. 31.

¹¹ Psalm 68.32 ist in der syrischen Exegese auf die zukünftige Bekehrung Äthiopiens oder Indiens zum Christentum bezogen und schon vor Ps.-Methodios in endzeitlichem Sinn verstanden worden, vgl. G.J. Reinink, 'Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom römischen Endkaiser,' in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, Andries Welkenhuysen, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I, 15 (Louvain, 1988), S. 100 n. 85, und nicht zuletzt Athanasios, *Expositio in Psalmos*, ed. Robert W. Thomson, CSCO 386, Scriptorum syri 167 (Louvain, 1977), S. 53 und 133; idem, *Expositio in Psalmos*, tr. Robert W. Thomson, CSCO 387, Scriptorum syri 168 (Louvain, 1977), S. 43 und 108.

¹² Vgl. unten die bei Ps.-Methodios beschriebene Szene der Abdankung des Endkaisers und auch Reinink, 'Endkaiser' (siehe oben n. 11), S. 101 n. 87.

¹³ Diese Möglichkeit schließt Martinez nicht aus, vgl. Francisco Javier Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius* (Ungedruckte Diss., The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1985), S. 196 n. 22 und S. 203.

¹⁴ Dies hält Alexander für möglich, vgl. Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985), S. 35.

¹⁵ Vgl. *ibid.*

¹⁶ Vgl. *ibid.* Aber welche der vielen Seleukia genannten Städte wäre dann gemeint? Nur Seleukia-Ktesiphon oder eine für alle?— Was Sizilien betrifft, so soll die Hauptstadt Syrakus 669–670 für kurze Zeit von den Muslimen erobert, die Beute nach Basra gebracht und von dort weiter nach Indien

ihrer Überheblichkeit kannten die Ismaeliten kein Mitleid, schonten selbst die Gottesdiener nicht und mißbrauchten die Heiligtümer. Viele Söhne der Kirche verleugneten ohne Zwang ihre Religion und schlossen sich den Ungläubigen an. Deshalb habe der Apostel geschrieben, in den letzten Zeiten verließen die Menschen den Glauben und folgten den unreinen Geistern und der Lehre der Dämonen.¹⁷

In der zehnten (Jahr-)Woche, mit deren Ablauf (also nach 70 Jahren) die Herrschaft der Ismaeliten enden werde, verdoppele Gott die Leiden für Mensch und Natur, um die Ungläubigen von den Gläubigen, die Spreu vom Weizen zu trennen: Hunger mache sich breit, ein Massensterben setze ein, die Plage des Zornes Gottes¹⁸ breche über die Menschen herein. Tribut und Geld würden von ihnen verlangt. In dem Augenblick allerdings, in dem die Ismaeliten zu höhnen begännen, für die Christen werde es keinen Erlöser¹⁹ geben, wendeten sich die Dinge zugunsten des die siegbringende Waffe (des Kreuzes) besitzenden Römerreichs. Dann nämlich werde der von den Ismaeliten für tot gehaltene König der Griechen, wie aus dem Rausch erwachend,²⁰ in den Kampf ziehen. Durch ihn würden die Ismaeliten vom (Roten) Meer der Kuschiten her in der Wüste angegriffen und gänzlich vernichtet. Seine Söhne²¹ würden die Orte der Wüste einnehmen und jeden Überlebenden, der sich im (Gelobten) Land der Verheißung finde, dem Schwert überantworten. Siebenfach, ja sogar hundertfach müßten die Ismaeliten dann das Joch der eigenen Knechtschaft sühnen, während alle (von den Ismaeliten versklavten oder verschleppten) Völker in ihre Heimat zurückkehren könnten. Ägypten, Arabien und Hebron würden verwüstet werden.

Im Anschluß an die Vernichtung der Ismaeliten sagt Ps.-Methodios den Anbruch einer letzten, in der Geschichte beispiellosen Friedenszeit (von unbestimmter Dauer) voraus: Kirchen würden erneuert, Städte gebaut, Priester von der Steuer befreit. Dann aber brächen die (seit den Tagen Alexanders des Großen) hinter den Toren des Nordens eingeschlossenen, menschenfressenden Völker hervor und ließen die Erde erzittern. In Massen trieben sie Flüchtlinge vor sich her.

verkauft worden sein, vgl. Andreas N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* 4 (Amsterdam, 1978), S. 19.

¹⁷ Vgl. 1 Tim. 4.1: 'In späteren Zeiten werden manche vom Glauben abfallen; sie werden sich betrügerischen Geistern und den Lehren von Dämonen zuwenden...'

¹⁸ Damit ist wohl die Pest gemeint.

¹⁹ Hierbei ist offenbar auch auf die islamische Leugnung der Gottessohnschaft Jesu angespielt, vgl. *Apokalypse*, tr. Reinink, S. 60f.

²⁰ Wörtlich: '... wie ein Mann, der den Wein (d.h. die Wirkung des Weines) abgeschüttelt hat.' Die Parallele zu Psalm 78.65–66 ist unverkennbar: 'Da erwachte der Herr wie aus dem Schlaf, wie ein Held, der betäubt war vom Wein. Er schlug seine Feinde zurück und gab sie ewiger Schande preis.' Vgl. dazu auch *Apokalypse*, tr. Reinink, S. 62.

²¹ Es ist mit Reinink anzunehmen, daß keine leiblichen Söhne, sondern die Byzantiner ganz allgemein gemeint sind, vgl. G.J. Reinink, 'Die syrischen Wurzeln der mittelalterlichen Legende vom römischen Endkaiser,' in *Non Nova, Sed Nove. Mélanges de civilisation médiévale dédiés à Willem Noomen*, ed. Martin Gosman, Jaap van Os, *Mediaevalia Groningana* 5 (Groningen, 1984), S. 198f.

Viele Menschen stürben vor Hunger oder aus Angst. Nach einer (Jahr-)Woche der Not würden diese Völker in der Ebene von Joppe versammelt und dann durch einen Erzengel vernichtet. Danach werde der König der Griechen anderthalb (Jahr-)Wochen, zehneinhalb Jahre, in Jerusalem sein. Sobald sich der Sohn des Verderbens (also der Antichrist) zeige, werde der König der Griechen (ihm kampflos weichen und) sich nach Golgatha begeben. Dort übergebe der König, der Sohn der Kūšyat, sein Reich an Gott, den Vater,²² indem er seine Krone auf das Heilige Kreuz setze und seine Hände zum Himmel hin ausstrecke. Darauf werde das Kreuz, dessen Erscheinen das Zeichen für die Ankunft des Herrn bilde, zusammen mit der Krone zum Himmel erhoben werden, der König aber seine Seele Gott anempfehlen und sterben. Damit erfülle sich das Wort Davids, der für das Ende der Zeiten(!) geweissagt habe: 'Kusch erhebt zu Gott die Hände (bzw. übergibt Gott die Herrschaft).'²³

Wegen seiner falschen Wunder liefen dem Sohn des Verderbens sogar die Heiligen nach.²⁴ Er werde in Jerusalem einziehen, im Tempel Gottes sitzen und vorgeben, Gott zu sein. Bei der Ankunft des Herrn vom Himmel herab werde er jedoch mit allen, die an ihn glaubten, dem höllischen Feuer ausgeliefert, während die aufrechten Christen Aufnahme in das himmlische Königreich fänden.

Unverkennbar verfolgte Ps.-Methodios das Ziel, seine Glaubensbrüder zu warnen und ihnen zugleich Hoffnung zu geben. Seine Warnung galt den Gefahren des Weltendes, besonders der Versuchung des Abfalls vom rechten Glauben, obwohl er die Hinwendung vieler Christen zum Islam als Zeichen der Endzeit wohl für unabwendbar hielt. Hoffnungen versuchte er durch die Behauptung zu wecken, die islamische Herrschaft sei nur als eine vorübergehende Kasteiung durch Gott zu betrachten, ihr Ende stehe unmittelbar bevor. Indem bei der Vernichtung — nicht etwa Bekehrung! — der Muslime dem byzantinischen Reich als letztem der Weltreiche die entscheidende Rolle zukommen sollte, zielte Ps.-Methodios nicht zuletzt darauf, das stark erschütterte Ansehen der byzantinischen Macht wiederherzustellen. Durch die von ihm vorausgesagten Erfolge der Byzantiner versuchte er den Ereignissen der Endzeit einen Teil ihrer Schrecken zu nehmen. Außerdem mochte diese optimistische Aussicht der Gefahr massenhafter Konversionen zum Islam entgegenwirken und so einem byzantinischen Großangriff auf Syrien den Boden bereiten.

Ps.-Methodios rief seine Glaubensbrüder aber nicht etwa zur Unterstützung des Endkaisers auf, sondern lediglich zu rein passivem Durchhalten in der Bewahrung des christlichen Glaubens. Allerdings ging es ihm, der seine christologische Position nicht verriet, um eine Annäherung zwischen Byzantinern und Monophysiten. Dafür spricht seine Behauptung der alten Verwandtschaft zwischen dem (chalkedonischen) König der Griechen und dem (monophysitischen) Herrscher von Äthiopien.

²² Die Parallele zu 1 Kor 15.24 ist unverkennbar, vgl. dazu oben.

²³ Zu Psalm 68.32 vgl. oben.

²⁴ Vgl. Matt. 24.24 und Markus 13.22.

Es ist nicht ohne Ironie, daß Ps.-Methodios²⁵ ein Argument entgangen ist, wie er es sich besser nicht hatte wünschen können. Unter Berufung auf den Anfang der 30. Sure: 'Die Byzantiner sind besiegt worden im nächstliegenden Gebiet. Aber sie werden, nachdem sie besiegt worden sind, siegen in etlichen Jahren ... An jenem Tag werden die Gläubigen sich darüber freuen, daß Gott geholfen hat,'²⁶ wäre es möglich gewesen, die Muslime mit ihren eigenen Waffen zu schlagen — wenn Ps.-Methodios den Koran gekannt hätte.²⁷ Abgesehen davon, spielt Ps.-Methodios nirgends darauf an, daß die Byzantiner schon einmal Ägypten und Syrien verloren und (626) Konstantinopel belagert gesehen hatten, aber trotzdem (gegen Perser und Awaren) die Oberhand behalten und ihre Gebiete zurückgewonnen hatten.

II

Die Schrift des Ps.-Methodios fand vor allem in Europa größte Verbreitung und bestimmte dort zusammen mit anderen Beschreibungen der Endzeit während des hohen und späten Mittelalters die auf das Weltende gerichteten Erwartungen der Menschen.²⁸ Sie wurde im Laufe der Jahrhunderte in mehrere Sprachen übersetzt, und zwar — vielleicht noch im 7. Jahrhundert — zuerst ins Griechische und von dort, wohl nur wenige Jahrzehnte später, ins Lateinische. Die erste griechische Fassung ist allerdings verloren und nur in etwa aus der lateinischen Übersetzung und der ersten griechischen Redaktion zu rekonstruieren.²⁹

Die Übersetzung vom Griechischen ins Lateinische stammt angeblich von einem gewissen Petrus monachus.³⁰ Beim inhaltlichen Vergleich mit den syrischen Versionen ergeben sich viele Unterschiede, die — wie die entsprechenden Passagen der ersten griechischen Redaktion beweisen — auf die griechische Übersetzung zurückgehen.

Unter anderem ist der Schluß über den Antichrist erheblich länger als im syrischen Text. Es heißt zusätzlich, Gott werde Henoch und Elias ausschicken. Nachdem es ihnen gelungen sei, den Sohn des Verderbens vor aller Welt als Betrüger zu entlarven, würden sie von ihm getötet, weil die ihm zunächst folgenden Völker nicht mehr an ihn glaubten. Danach werde auf den Wolken des

²⁵ Ebenso wie den bisherigen Forschungen über ihn.

²⁶ Vgl. *Der Koran*, tr. Rudi Paret, (Stuttgart, 1980), S. 282.

²⁷ Offenbar haben die zitierten Koranverse im Schrifttum der Byzantiner oder überhaupt der Christen kein Echo ausgelöst, obwohl sie auf islamischer Seite Gegenstand lebhafter Diskussion gewesen sind, vgl. Manfred Götz, 'Zum historischen Hintergrund von Sure 30, 1–5,' in *Festschrift Werner Caskel*, ed. Erwin Gräf (Leiden, 1968), S. 111–120.

²⁸ Vgl. dazu demnächst meine Arbeit über den Weltkaiser der Endzeit.

²⁹ Die lateinische Übersetzung ist ediert von Sackur, *Texte* (siehe oben, n. 2), S. 59–96, die erste und zweite griechische Redaktion von Lolos unter dem Titel *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios*, ed. Anastasios Lolos, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 83 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976), S. 46–141. W.J. Aerts und G.A.A. Kortekaas bereiten eine neue Edition der syrisch-griechischen und griechisch-lateinischen Übersetzung vor, die in den Subsidia des CSCO erscheinen soll.

³⁰ Vgl. das Vorwort der lateinischen Übersetzung bei Sackur, *Texte*, S. 59f.

Himmels der Menschensohn kommen³¹ und den Sohn des Verderbens mit dem Hauch seines Mundes töten.³²

Auch in bezug auf die Ismaeliten und den Endkaiser bestehen Unterschiede: Haben die Ismaeliten bei ihrer ersten (unhistorischen) Invasion außer den im syrischen Text genannten Ländern angeblich auch noch Gigitum und Thessalonike³³ sowie Sardinien und/oder Albania³⁴ erobert, so sollen sie beim zweiten Angriff nicht mehr als die in der syrischen Vorlage angegebenen Gebiete unterwerfen — aber ohne jeden Zweifel auch Afrika,³⁵ Griechenland³⁶ und Sizilien.³⁷

Während die erste ismaelitische Herrschaftsperiode wie im syrischen Text angeblich mindestens achteinhalb (Jahr-) Wochen³⁸ gedauert hat, soll die zweite Periode deutlich kürzer sein und nur sieben³⁹ statt zehn (Jahr-)Wochen, also lediglich 49 Jahre, dauern. Der Endkaiser wird bei der ersten Erwähnung als König der Griechen oder Römer,⁴⁰ danach aber — entsprechend dem byzantinischen Selbstverständnis — nur noch als König der Römer bezeichnet.⁴¹

Noch in demselben Jahrhundert, in dem die Schrift des Ps.-Methodios ins Lateinische übersetzt wurde, entstand eine lateinische Kurzfassung. Sie ist erstmals von Istrin⁴² ediert worden. Ohne Istrins Ausgabe heranzuziehen, hat dann D'Evelyn⁴³ den Text nach einer Oxforder Handschrift gedruckt. In Unkenntnis dieser beiden Arbeiten wiederum hat Rudolf⁴⁴ als vorläufigen Behelf eine Edition nach fünf Wiener Handschriften vorgelegt. Eine kritische Edition hat neuerdings Prinz⁴⁵ besorgt. Er kennt allerdings weder die Arbeiten von Istrin, D'Evelyn und Rudolf (obwohl der von ihm nach fünf Handschriften gegebene Text teilweise auf

³¹ Vgl. Matt. 24.30; Markus 13.26 und 14.62.

³² Vgl. 2 Thess. 2.8. In der Offenbarung des Johannes 19.15, 21 wird der Hauch zum Schwert.

³³ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 67 und 68; *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 66 und 70. Zur Frage der Identifizierung von Gigitum vgl. *ibid.*, S. 67 n. 3.

³⁴ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 67 und 69; *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 66 und 70.

³⁵ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 89 und 90; *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 120 und 126.

³⁶ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 83 und 90; *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 102 und 126.

³⁷ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 82, 89 und 90; *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 102, 120 und 126.

³⁸ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 68; *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 66.

³⁹ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 69, 80 und 88; *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 70, 94 und 116.

⁴⁰ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 89; *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 122.

⁴¹ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 90f. (dreimal) und 93 f. (dreimal); *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 124–126 (dreimal) und 130–134 (viermal).

⁴² Vasilij Michailovič Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodija Patarskago i apokričeskija videnija Daniila v vizantijskoi i slavjano-russkoi literaturach. Issledovanie i teksty*, 2 (Moskva, 1897), S. 75–83.

⁴³ Charlotte D'Evelyn, 'The Middle-English Metrical Version of the Revelations of Methodius; with a Study of the Influence of Methodius in Middle-English Writings,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 33 (1918), 192–203.

⁴⁴ Rainer Rudolf, 'Des Pseudo-Methodius "Revelationes" (Fassung B) und ihre deutsche Übersetzung in der Brüsseler Handschrift Eghenvelders,' *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 95 (1976), 77–91.

⁴⁵ Otto Prinz, 'Eine frühe abendländische Aktualisierung der lateinischen Übersetzung des Pseudo-Methodios,' *DA* 41 (1985), 6–17.

den von ihnen benutzten Handschriften basiert), noch die aus dem 8. Jahrhundert stammende Handschrift in der Stadtbibliothek Trier.⁴⁶ Prinz erwähnt auch nicht, daß von der lateinischen Kurzfassung Übersetzungen ins Deutsche,⁴⁷ Englische⁴⁸ und Kastilische⁴⁹ erhalten sind, die allesamt aus dem Spätmittelalter stammen und in modernen Editionen bzw. Drucken zugänglich sind. Außerdem lassen seine Ausführungen zum Text erkennen, daß er sich kaum bemüht hat, den Fragen nachzugehen, die der inhaltliche Vergleich der lateinischen Kurzfassung mit den älteren Versionen der Schrift des Ps.-Methodios aufwirft, und daß er mit den ursprünglichen Intentionen des Ps.-Methodios wenig vertraut ist.⁵⁰

Im Gegensatz zu der von Verhelst⁵¹ geäußerten Ansicht basiert die Kurzfassung auf der angeblich von Petrus monachus stammenden lateinischen Übersetzung. Außer vielen wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen, die Prinz offenbar Beweis genug sind, spricht dafür entscheidend die angebliche Herrschaftsdauer der Juden von 9000 Jahren,⁵² denn diese Angabe deckt sich weder mit den erhaltenen syrischen Versionen⁵³ noch mit der ersten griechischen Redaktion,⁵⁴ sondern allein mit der lateinischen Übersetzung.⁵⁵

Es sind allerdings auch erhebliche Abweichungen von der ersten lateinischen Version festzustellen — nicht nur das Vorwort fehlt. Vor allem ist die Weltgeschichte in sechs nacheinander genannte Jahrtausende eingeteilt, also nicht in sieben Jahrtausende ohne Nennung oder Markierung des sechsten. Vermutlich aber hat der Verfasser bzw. Bearbeiter nicht einfach die Jahrtausende der Reihe nach durchgezählt, also nicht das fehlende sechste als das siebente Jahrtausend genommen und das letztere dann notgedrungen weggelassen. Er hat

⁴⁶ Es handelt sich um die Handschrift Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 564/806, fol. 35r–49v. Vgl. zu ihr Marc Laureys, Daniel Verhelst, 'Pseudo-Methodius, *Revelationes*: Textgeschichte und kritische Edition. Ein Leuven-Groninger Forschungsprojekt,' in *Use* (siehe oben, n. 11), S. 127, Nr. 119.

⁴⁷ Vgl. Rudolf, 'Des Pseudo-Methodius "Revelationes" (Fassung B),' S. 77–91.

⁴⁸ Vgl. D'Evelyn, 'Middle-English Metrical Version,' S. 156–182 (in Versen), und Aaron Jenkins Perry, ed., *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum, Richard FitzRalph's Sermon: 'Defensio Curatorum' and Methodius: The Bygynnyng of the World and the Ende of Worldes by John Trevisa*, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 167 (London, 1925), S. 94–112 (in Prosa). Dazu: Gerritt H.V. Bunt, 'The Middle English Translations of the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius,' in *Polyphonia Byzantina. Studies in Honour of Willem J. Aerts*, ed. Hero Hokwerda, Edmé R. Smits, Marinus M. Woesthuis, Mediaevalia Groningana 13 (Groningen, 1993), S. 131–143.

⁴⁹ Vgl. L. Vázquez de Parga, 'Algunas notas sobre el Pseudo Metodio y España,' *Habis* 2 (1971), 156–163.

⁵⁰ Auch werden die von Prinz, 'Aktualisierung,' S. 3 und 18, gewählten Adjektive 'konfus' und 'verworren' dem Text des Ps.-Methodios nicht gerecht.

⁵¹ D. Verhelst, 'La préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antichrist,' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 40 (1973), 97.

⁵² Vgl. die Edition von Prinz, 'Aktualisierung,' S. 11. Auf diese Ungereimtheit, die bei der angenommenen Dauer der Weltgeschichte von 6000 oder 7000 Jahren nicht zu übersehen ist, weist Prinz nirgends hin.

⁵³ Vgl. *Apokalypse*, ed. Reinink, S. 23, und tr. Reinink, S. 39.

⁵⁴ Vgl. *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 94.

⁵⁵ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 79.

sich wohl die maßgeblich durch Ambrosius beeinflusste Meinung Augustins zu eigen gemacht, daß der Ablauf der Weltgeschichte nicht in sieben, sondern in sechs Weltalter zu gliedern sei, über deren Dauer zu spekulieren, Augustin jedoch ablehnt.⁵⁶ Darüber hinaus dürfte er einer bestimmten Zeitrechnung, nämlich der eusebianisch-hieronymianischen Ära, gefolgt sein.⁵⁷

Hinsichtlich der ersten vier Jahrtausende fällt auf, daß die Jahresangaben zu den geschilderten Ereignissen ohne ersichtlichen Grund mehrfach abweichen. Die zu Beginn des fünften Jahrtausends erstmals in Erscheinung tretenden Ismaeliten werden manchmal auch Sarazenen genannt. Es heißt, ihre Herrschaft habe 70 Jahre gedauert und sich bis in Gebiete des Okzidents nahe Rom erstreckt, ohne daß im Orient oder Okzident einzelne Gebiete eigens aufgeführt werden.

So gut wie alle Angaben, die in der ersten lateinischen Version für den Zeitraum zwischen der ersten und zweiten Ismaelitenherrschaft zu finden sind, sucht man in der Kurzfassung vergeblich. Von Äthiopien oder der äthiopischen Abstammung des griechischen Königs ist ebensowenig die Rede wie von Alexander dem Großen oder davon, daß die — erst bei der Beschreibung des sechsten Jahrtausends erwähnte — Einschließung der Völker Gog und Magog Alexanders Tat war. Somit sind wesentliche Züge und Bausteine in der Argumentation des Ps.-Methodios fortgelassen.⁵⁸

Keine Rede auch ist vom Heiligen Kreuz als der siegbringenden Waffe der Römer.⁵⁹ Neu ist dagegen die Liste der zum Römerreich gehörenden Länder und Völker.⁶⁰ Außer dem Reich der Perser werden die Skythen, Inder, Afrikaner, Spanier, Gallier, Germanen⁶¹ und Briten genannt.

Was die Darstellung der zweiten ismaelitischen Herrschaft angeht, so heißt es in der Kurzfassung, wegen der Sünden der Christenheit werde Gott im sechsten und letzten Jahrtausend — also nicht erst im siebenten! — alle(!) Reiche und Völker in die Hand der abermals aus der Wüste hervorbrechenden Ismaeliten fallen lassen. Italien jedoch werde zum Teil unversehrt bleiben und die *Romana* (sic!) *gentes* könnten sich behaupten.

Bei der Aufzählung der eroberten Länder sind im Unterschied zur ersten lateinischen Version einerseits die kaum zu identifizierenden Länder oder Städte

⁵⁶ Vgl. Karl-Heinz Schwarte, *Die Vorgeschichte der augustiniischen Weltalterlehre*, Antiquitas, Reihe 1, 12 (Bonn, 1966), S. 23–61 und 273–290. Prinz, 'Aktualisierung,' geht auf die in der lateinischen Kurzfassung veränderte Chronologie nicht ein.

⁵⁷ Vgl. unten.

⁵⁸ Prinz, 'Aktualisierung,' S. 18, scheint zu entgehen, daß damit die ursprünglichen Intentionen des Ps.-Methodios erheblich verändert sind.

⁵⁹ Von Prinz ebenfalls unbeachtet.

⁶⁰ Vgl. Prinz, 'Aktualisierung,' S. 11. Die Liste findet in der ersten lateinischen Version keine Entsprechung, denn die dortigen Angaben bleiben verschwommen und beziehen sich alle auf Länder und Völker des Orients, vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 79f.

⁶¹ Darunter sind im Text der Edition von Prinz nicht die *Syvaves* und die *Bagivvarii* subsummiert, sondern noch zusätzlich aufgeführt.

*Aurania*⁶² und *Epficum*⁶³ an die Stelle von Armenien und Kappadokien getreten und bleibt Afrika unerwähnt, andererseits werden zusätzlich weit westlich oder nördlich von Rom gelegene Gebiete wie Spanien, Gallien, Germanien und Aquitanien genannt. Da 'Germanien' niemals durch die Araber, wohl aber durch die Awaren bedroht war⁶⁴ und der Name der Türken und Awaren anders als in der lateinischen Übersetzung⁶⁵ an keiner Stelle fällt, ist es möglich, daß die Awaren als Ismaeliten betrachtet werden.⁶⁶

In bezug auf die Dauer der ersten und zweiten ismaelitischen Herrschaft ist keine Parallelität hergestellt, freilich ohne sich hierin mit der lateinischen Übersetzung zu decken, denn während die erste Herrschaft 70 Jahre gedauert haben soll, wird über die Länge der zweiten gar keine Angabe gemacht. Dies ist vielleicht damit zu erklären, daß dem Bearbeiter das Ende des sechsten Jahrtausends — und damit das Weltende — entsprechend der eusebianisch-hieronymianischen Chronologie wohl nahe bevorzustehen schien⁶⁷ und ihm als zeitliche Grenze der ismaelitischen Herrschaft genügen mochte.

Außerdem fällt auf, daß bei der Beschreibung des allgemeinen Elends, das die Ismaeliten über die Welt bringen, die Gefahr des Abfalls der christlichen Bevölkerung von ihrer Religion, also die Gefahr für das Seelenheil der Christen, mit keinem Wort erwähnt wird.⁶⁸

Über das Ende der zweiten ismaelitischen Herrschaft schließlich ist zu lesen, daß in dem Augenblick, in dem sich die Söhne Ismaels für unbesiegbar hielten und begannen, sich ihrer Siege über die Völker der Erde zu rühmen, der *rex christianorum et Romanorum*⁶⁹ den siegreichen Kampf gegen sie eröffnen werde. Es wird aber nicht gesagt, seine Söhne würden daran beteiligt sein, und der Ausgangspunkt seines Angriffs bleibt unklar — vom Roten Meer ist keine Rede.

Nach der Darstellung der an den Sieg über die Ismaeliten anschließenden Friedenszeit und der darauf folgenden siebenjährigen Herrschaft der verabscheuungswürdigen Völker Gog und Magog, denen einer der (Engel-) Fürsten Gottes bei Iopen den Untergang bringen soll, heißt es: *et venit imperator*

⁶² Entgegen der von Prinz 'Aktualisierung,' S. 19, vertretenen Ansicht wohl kaum mit dem syrischen Hauran zu identifizieren, denn Prinz sieht in der griechischen Bezeichnung für Hebron (vgl. *Apokalypse*, ed. Lolos, S. 126 Zeile 8f.) eine Verschreibung des griechischen Namens von Hauran.

⁶³ Prinz, 'Aktualisierung,' S. 19 erwägt 'eine Entstellung von Ephesus'.

⁶⁴ Im allgemeinen waren die Awaren in 8. Jahrhundert allerdings friedliche Nachbarn. Von Kämpfen mit ihnen lesen wir vor 788 nur in den Jahren 713–714 und 742, vgl. Walter Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.* (München, 1988), S. 284 und 308f.

⁶⁵ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 80.

⁶⁶ Zumal der Bearbeiter vielleicht ein Bayer war, vgl. unten. Prinz, 'Aktualisierung,' S. 18, hält es für möglich, daß an die Stelle der Türken und Awaren die bei der Aufzählung der Völker des Römerreiches genannten Skythen getreten sind.

⁶⁷ Vgl. unten.

⁶⁸ Von Prinz nicht beachtet.

⁶⁹ Danach — d.h. bis zum Beginn der Herrschaft von Gog und Magog — wird dieser Herrscher je einmal als König der Christen und König der Römer und Christen sowie zweimal als König der Römer bezeichnet.

Gregorum. Postea sedebit in Hierusolima septem annis. Beim Erscheinen des — expressis verbis als Antichrist bezeichneten — Sohnes des Verderbens dann steige der *rex Romanorum et Gregorum* nach Golgatha hinauf. Dort übergebe der *rex Romanorum* seine Seele und das Reich der Christen an Gott, indem er seine Krone vom Kopf nehme, um sie auf seinen Nacken(!)⁷⁰ zu setzen, und dann die Hände zum Himmel ausstrecke. Danach erscheine das Zeichen des Kreuzes am Himmel, und der Antichrist trete auf.⁷¹

Das Heilige Kreuz bleibt also auch in der Abdankungsszene unerwähnt,⁷² und außerdem ist auffallend, wie uneinheitlich die Titel des Endzeitherrschers sind,⁷³ der in der lateinischen Übersetzung zunächst als *rex Gregorum sive Romanorum* und die sechs folgenden Male einheitlich als *rex Romanorum* bezeichnet wird.⁷⁴ Schließlich noch ist in bezug auf den Endzeitherrscher festzuhalten, daß er in der lateinischen Kurzfassung nicht wie ein aus dem Rausch erwachender Mann auftritt, der vorher für tot gehalten worden war. Hoffnungen auf die Wiederkehr eines toten Herrschers spielen also keine Rolle.

Was die Herrschaft des Sohnes des Verderbens betrifft, der in der Kurzfassung außerdem als der Antichrist bezeichnet wird, so besteht eine wesentliche Abweichung von der lateinischen Übersetzung darin, daß es in Anlehnung an die Offenbarung des Johannes heißt, die Verfolgungen des Antichrist hatten von jedem der (zwölf) Stämme Israels 144.000 Tote gefordert, nachdem er von Henoch und Elias als Betrüger entlarvt worden sei und sich die Juden zu Christus bekannt hätten.⁷⁵

Den terminus post quem der Kurzfassung bildet das Jahr 700, denn ihre zwei ältesten erhaltenen Handschriften stammen aus dem 8., bzw. 8. oder 9. Jahrhundert.⁷⁶ Wegen der Behauptung, die Ismaeliten würden unter anderem auch Spanien, Aquitanien, Gallien und Germanien beherrschen, dürfte darüber hinaus als terminus post quem das Jahr 711 gelten, in dem die Muslime Toledo, die Hauptstadt des Westgotenreiches, eroberten.

⁷⁰ *Super cervicem suam*, statt: *super crucem* (wie in der ersten lateinischen Version) — vielleicht 'ein paläographisch erklärbarer schwerer Irrtum,' wie Prinz, 'Aktualisierung,' S. 6 n. 18, meint, möglicherweise aber eine bewußte Änderung, denn das Heilige Kreuz wird auch vorher nicht erwähnt. Übrigens setzt der Endkaiser in der kastilischen und den englischen Übersetzungen der Kurzfassung seine Krone auf das Kreuz, vgl. Vázquez de Parga, 'Algunas notas' (siehe oben, n. 49), S. 162; D'Evelyn, 'Middle-English Metrical Version' (siehe oben, n. 43), S. 177; Perri, ed., *Dialogus* (siehe oben, n. 48), S. 109.

⁷¹ Das Kreuzeszeichen am Himmel wurde gewöhnlich als das Zeichen für die Parusie Christi betrachtet — von Prinz nicht kommentiert.

⁷² Darauf geht Prinz nicht ein.

⁷³ Auch diesen Umstand läßt Prinz unbeachtet. Vgl. dazu unten.

⁷⁴ Vgl. Sackur, *Texte*, S. 89–91 und 93f.

⁷⁵ Vgl. Offenbarung des Johannes 7.4–8. Dort stehen die insgesamt(!) zwölf mal zwölftausend Söhne Israels für die Gesamtheit der Erlösten, ohne daß von ihrem Martyrium die Rede wäre.

⁷⁶ Es handelt sich um die von Prinz nicht benutzte Handschrift in Trier (siehe oben, n. 46) und um die Handschrift in Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, C 65, fol. 80v–88v, vgl. Laureys und Verhelst, 'Textgeschichte' (siehe oben, n. 46), S. 127f., Nr. 119 und 134, sowie Prinz, 'Aktualisierung,' S. 4.

Prinz⁷⁷ hält eine Datierung auf Mitte 732,⁷⁸ auf die Zeit kurz vor der Schlacht von Tours und Poitiers für möglich, weil 'das Werk in höchster Notlage entstanden sein könnte ...' Dagegen tritt Alexander⁷⁹ wegen der Erwähnung von Kämpfen gegen die Araber in Gallien, Germanien und Aquitanien, 'which undoubtedly include the battle of Tours in 732,' für eine Entstehung erst nach 732 ein. In der Tat kann die Kurzfassung ebensogut auf dem Höhepunkt der Bedrohung des Frankenreiches durch die Muslime erfolgt sein wie zu einer Zeit der Hoffnungen auf eine entscheidende Wende in den politisch-militärischen Entwicklungen, nämlich um 751, als es Pippin dem Jüngeren gelang, den Muslimen wieder das wichtige Narbonne zu entreißen,⁸⁰ oder um 778, als Karl der Große zu seinem Feldzug nach Spanien aufbrach.⁸¹

Da keine Angabe über die Dauer der zweiten ismaelitischen Herrschaft gemacht wird, ergibt sich von daher auch kein Weissagungsjahr, und somit fehlt eine wichtige Möglichkeit zur Bestimmung des terminus ante quem. Eine Rechnung, die in Parallele zur Dauer der ersten Ismaelitenherrschaft 70 Jahre zugrunde legte und die Eroberung Toledos 711 als den Beginn der islamischen Herrschaft (in Europa) zum Ausgangspunkt nahm, mochte das Ende dieser Herrschaft im Jahre 781 oder 782 erwarten lassen. Doch ist völlig unsicher, ob eine derartige Rechnung in der Absicht des Verfassers lag.

Ein einigermaßen sicherer terminus ante quem ist dadurch gegeben, daß der Bearbeiter das Weltende nach dem Ablauf von 6000 Jahren kommen sieht. Sofern man nämlich die zwischen den Jahren 500 und 800 a.d. weit verbreitete eusebianisch-hieronymianische Ära zugrunde legt, kann das Jahr 6000 auf verschiedene Zeiträume zwischen 799 und 806 a.d. fallen.⁸² Daraus ergibt sich nach Abzug jener 14 Jahre, welche die Herrschaft von Gog und Magog zusammen mit derjenigen des Endkaisers mindestens dauern soll, das Jahr 792 als terminus ante quem.

⁷⁷ Ibid., S. 22.

⁷⁸ Besser: 733. Es bleibt vielfach immer noch unbeachtet, daß es zur Schlacht von Tours und Poitiers erst an einem Sonnabend im Oktober 733 kam, vgl. Marcel Baudot, 'Localisation et datation de la première victoire remportée par Charles-Martel contre les Musulmans,' *Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes* 2 (1955), 93–105.

⁷⁹ Paul J. Alexander, 'The Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses in the Medieval West and the Beginnings of Joachimism,' in *Prophecy and Millenarianism. Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves*, ed. Ann Williams (Harlow, 1980), S. 96 n. 42. Die knappen Ausführungen von Alexander kennt Prinz offenbar nicht.

⁸⁰ Wohl nicht erst 759, vgl. É. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* 1 (Paris–Leiden, 1950), S. 64 n. 1.

⁸¹ Vgl. unten.

⁸² Zur Verbreitung der eusebianisch-hieronymianischen Ära und zur Frage der Stärke der damit einhergehenden Enderwartung vgl. Richard Landes, 'Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100–800 CE,' in *Use* (siehe oben, n. 11), S. 139, 149–156, 165–171 und 178–203, zur Berechnung des Jahres 6000 bes. S. 196f.

Wie sich aus den oben vermerkten Streichungen ergibt, deckt sich die Zielsetzung der lateinischen Kurzfassung⁸³ im Gegensatz zur lateinischen Übersetzung⁸⁴ vielfach nicht mehr mit derjenigen des syrischen Originals. Dies ist teilweise wohl auf Unverständnis oder Gleichgültigkeit zurückzuführen, teilweise aber auch auf eine veränderte Situation und damit andere Interessen.

Die mit Stillschweigen übergangene Gefahr für das Seelenheil durch die Konversion zum Islam scheint in den Augen des Bearbeiters nicht bestanden zu haben. Die Warnung vor der Konversion war jedenfalls nicht sein Ziel — vielleicht konnte er sich gar nicht vorstellen, daß in anderen Ländern Massenkonzersionen nicht bloß drohten, sondern längst Tatsache geworden waren. Belanglos war für den Bearbeiter außerdem die angeblich äthiopische Abstammung des Endkaisers, denn er verfocht keine byzantinischen Interessen,⁸⁵ und der fehlende Bezug auf Psalm 68.32 ließ ihn gleichgültig. Abgesehen davon, hat der Bearbeiter seine Vorlage von der geographischen Ausdehnung der islamischen Herrschaft und von den zeitlichen Angaben her für erneuerungsbedürftig gehalten. Es ist aber die Frage, ob dies alles den Ausschlag für den Entschluß zu einer Neubearbeitung gegeben hat.

Von größten Interesse in bezug auf die Zielsetzung der Kurzfassung ist die Uneinheitlichkeit der Bezeichnungen für den Endzeitherrscher, die auffallend von der lateinischen Übersetzung abweichen und denen deshalb wohl eine Absicht zugrunde liegt. Alexander⁸⁶ sieht darin zutreffend das Bemühen des Bearbeiters, aus dem byzantinischen einen abendländischen Endkaiser zu machen. Dieses Bemühen kann über Alexanders allgemeine Aussage hinaus verdeutlicht werden.

Wenn es nach dem Untergang der Völker Gog und Magog wie beim Auftritt eines neuen Herrschers, von dessen Titel noch nicht die Rede war, heißt: *Et venit imperator Gregorum*, so scheint es, als wollte der Bearbeiter andeuten, daß es sich nicht um denselben Herrscher, den *rex christianorum et Romanorum*, handeln muß, der zuvor die Ismaeliten besiegt hat, obwohl er ihn später auch als *rex Romanorum*⁸⁷ bezeichnet. Die Schilderung der siebenjährigen Herrschaft von Gog und Magog ist als Einschnitt in die Regierungszeit des Endkaisers wie geschaffen, diesen in zwei verschiedene Personen zu teilen. Der byzantinische Herrscher bleibt dann zwar immer noch der abdankende und damit der eigentliche Endkaiser, aber er spielt bei den Ereignissen der Endzeit keine aktive Rolle mehr, während den Waffenruhm des Sieges über die Ismaeliten ein anderer — zwangsläufig westlicher — Herrscher der Römer erringt.

Dazu paßt, daß die Angabe der lateinischen Übersetzung fehlt, der Angriff des Endkaisers auf die Ismaeliten werde vom Roten Meer her erfolgen, denn dies war für einen abendländischen Herrscher noch schwieriger als für einen

⁸³ Darüber scheint sich Prinz keine Gedanken gemacht zu haben.

⁸⁴ Ob der Übersetzer aber alle Anspielungen und Feinheiten in der Argumentation verstand, ist fraglich.

⁸⁵ Vgl. unten.

⁸⁶ Alexander, 'Diffusion' (siehe oben, n. 79), S. 66.

⁸⁷ Aber als *rex Romanorum et Gregorum* statt als *rex Romanorum et christianorum*.

byzantinischen. In ähnlicher Weise könnte das völlige Schweigen über das Heilige Kreuz und seine siebringende Bedeutung darin begründet sein, daß sich das Heilige Kreuz in byzantinischem Besitz befand⁸⁸ und das Frankenreich das Kreuz lediglich in übertragenem Sinne besaß.

Die Grundlage für die Gleichsetzung des fränkischen Königs mit dem *rex Romanorum* des Ps.-Methodios war dadurch gegeben, daß nicht nur in Byzanz das Römerreich mit dem Reich der Christen gleichgesetzt wurde, sondern im Abendland des 8. Jahrhunderts auch Christ mit Römer⁸⁹ und daß der Papst 754 Pippin dem Jüngeren und seinen Söhnen den Titel *patricius Romanorum* verlieh, den Karl der Große seit 774 im Unterschied zu Pippin auch trug.⁹⁰

Somit kann auf der Ebene endzeitlicher Weissagung bereits vor der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen von einem Zwei-Kaiser-Problem gesprochen werden. Infolgedessen ist der bei Adso zu beobachtende Schritt hin zu einem fränkischen Endkaiser, der das Römerreich beherrscht,⁹¹ um einiges kürzer als auf den ersten Blick erkennbar.

Angesichts der gemachten Beobachtungen und daraus gezogenen Folgerungen liegt ein Zusammenhang zwischen der Entstehung der Kurzfassung und dem Spanienfeldzug Karls des Großen von 778 nahe.⁹² Das für die Neubearbeitung ausschlaggebende Ziel könnte ganz konkret die Propaganda für dieses militärische Unternehmen gebildet haben, an dem übrigens auch Bayern teilnahmen.⁹³ Nach den vorangegangenen, 'fast unheimlichen'⁹⁴ Erfolgen Karls des Großen, der sich 777 als neuer Konstantin zu stilisieren versucht hatte,⁹⁵ mochte nicht nur nördlich der Alpen so mancher abendländische Zeitgenosse hoffen, dieser Feldzug werde

⁸⁸ Vgl. A. Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961), S. 63–67.

⁸⁹ Vgl. Gerd Tellenbach, 'Römischer und christlicher Reichsgedanke in der Liturgie des frühen Mittelalters,' *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, Jahrgang 1934/35, Abhandlung 1 (Heidelberg, 1934), S. 19–29; Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages. A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power* (London, 1955), S. 61–63; idem, 'On the Use of the Term "Romani" in the Sources of the Earlier Middle Ages,' in *Studia patristica*, ed. Kurt Aland, F.L. Cross, Texte und Untersuchungen 64, 2 (Berlin, 1957), S. 155–163; einschränkend dazu die Rezension von H. Löwe, *Historische Zeitschrift* 186 (1958), 184f.

⁹⁰ Vgl. Josef Deér, 'Zum Patricius-Romanorum-Titel Karls des Großen,' *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 3 (1965), 31–70.

⁹¹ Vgl. Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976), S. 26.

⁹² Zu diesem Feldzug vgl. Robert-Henri Bautier, 'La campagne de Charlemagne en Espagne (778) — La réalité historique,' in *La Bataille de Roncevaux*, Actes du Colloque de Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port (12 août 1978), Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne, n.S. 135 (o.O., 1979), S. 1–51; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire* (siehe oben, n. 80), S. 118–129.

⁹³ Vgl. Heinz Löwe, *Die karolingische Reichsgründung und der Südosten. Studien zum Werden des Deutschtums und seiner Auseinandersetzung mit Rom*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 13 (Stuttgart, 1937), S. 61. Dies könnte insofern von Bedeutung sein, als der Verfasser bzw. Bearbeiter vielleicht ein Schwabe oder Bayer war, vgl. unten.

⁹⁴ So Karl Hauck, 'Karl als neuer Konstantin 777. Die archäologischen Entdeckungen in Paderborn in historischer Sicht,' *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20 (1986), 534.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 528–534.

den Anfang vom Ende der islamischen Herrschaft in Europa oder überhaupt bringen — ein Ende, das der Kurzfassung zufolge wohl vor 792 zu erwarten war. Verglichen mit dieser Erklärungsmöglichkeit ist ein eventueller Zusammenhang mit dem um 751 gegen die Muslime unternommenen Feldzug Pippins des Jüngeren, der zur Eroberung von Narbonne führte,⁹⁶ weniger wahrscheinlich.

Der Verfasser der Kurzfassung war vermutlich ein Geistlicher.⁹⁷ Da die beiden Volksstämme der *Svaves* und der *Bagivvarii* gesondert von den unmittelbar vorher genannten *Germani* erwähnt werden, könnte er ein Schwabe oder Bayer gewesen sein, sofern es sich dabei nicht um Zusätze eines späteren Abschreibers handelt.⁹⁸ Auch läßt sich die Behauptung, unter anderem werde — das durch die Muslime ja nicht direkt bedrohte — Germanien von den Ismaeliten erobert werden, am leichtesten erklären, wenn die Kurzfassung auf dem Boden des heutigen Deutschland oder in einem seiner Grenzgebiete entstand.⁹⁹

Die lateinische Kurzfassung des Ps.-Methodios blieb auch nach dem Jahr 6000 der eusebianisch-hieronymianischen Ära populär. Der Zahl der erhaltenen Handschriften nach zu urteilen, übertraf ihre Verbreitung im späteren Mittelalter sogar diejenige der aus dem Griechischen übersetzten ersten lateinischen Version.¹⁰⁰ Es gibt jedoch keinen direkten Hinweis darauf, daß Karl der Große die Weissagung des Ps.-Methodios kannte. Immerhin darf dies für die Mitglieder der Hofschule,¹⁰¹ besonders für Karls gelehrten Ratgeber Alkuin und damit wohl auch für Karl angenommen werden, zumal die Tendenz der Kurzfassung Karl günstig war.

Zweifelloß war die Kaiserkrönung im Jahre 800 geeignet, Karl den Großen als den am Weltende herrschenden letzten Kaiser erscheinen zu lassen, denn so mancher Zeitgenosse sah in Anlehnung an die Lehre Augustins von den sechs Weltaltern mit dem Jahr 6000 der eusebianisch-hieronymianischen Ära, das je nach Berechnung auf die Zeit von 799–806 a.d. fiel, das Weltende kommen. Diese Ära war noch keineswegs vergessen, obwohl fast alle fränkischen Geistlichen offiziell nach Inkarnationsjahren zu rechnen begannen, als das Ende

⁹⁶ Vgl. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire* (siehe oben, n. 80), S. 64.

⁹⁷ Entgegen der Ansicht von Prinz, 'Aktualisierung,' S. 22, gibt die Anrede: *fratres* am Anfang der Schrift aber keinen Hinweis darauf, daß der Verfasser bzw. Bearbeiter ein Mönch war, zumal sie Methodios in den Mund gelegt ist.

⁹⁸ Diese Einschränkung macht Prinz, *ibid.*, S. 18, nicht, obwohl die *Bagivvarii* nur in einer (Zürcher) der von ihm benutzten Handschriften genannt werden.

⁹⁹ Prinz, *ibid.*, S. 22, denkt in erster Linie an das Kloster St. Gallen.

¹⁰⁰ Vgl. Laureys und Verhelst, 'Textgeschichte' (siehe oben, n. 46), S. 114–119, Nr. 1–44 (Handschriften der ersten lateinischen Version) und S. 119–129, Nr. 45–135 (Handschriften der lateinischen Kurzfassung). Außerdem gehören von den *ibid.*, S. 132–136, als 'noch nicht verarbeitet' bezeichneten Handschriften zumindest noch Nr. 180, 185, 186, 188 (alle aus Oxford) und vermutlich auch Nr. 175–178 (alle aus Cambridge) der Kurzfassung an, wie sich aus D'Evelyn, 'Middle-English Metrical Version' (siehe oben, n. 43), S. 139f. n. 15, ergibt.

¹⁰¹ Und zwar auch dann, wenn Adso, *De ortu* (siehe oben, n. 91), S. 26, mit den *doctores nostri*, auf die er sich bei seiner kurzen Wiedergabe der Endkaiser-Weissagung beruft, keine karolingischen Hoftheologen, sondern die Kirchenväter gemeint haben sollte.

des sechsten Jahrtausends keine 100 Jahre mehr entfernt war.¹⁰² Assoziationen mit der Endkaiser-Weissagung mochte außerdem der Umstand wecken, daß Karl in Rom zwei Tage vor der Kaiserkrönung durch eine Gesandtschaft des Patriarchen von Jerusalem die Schlüssel der Grabeskirche, vielleicht auch der Heiligen Stadt sowie eine Fahne als Geschenk empfing.¹⁰³ Ein Mann wie Alkuin dagegen sah in Karl zwar möglicherweise den letzten Herrscher der Franken, wohl kaum aber den gewissagten letzten *rex Romanorum*,¹⁰⁴ denn in seinen Briefen aus dem Jahre 801, von denen mehr als zwei Dutzend erhalten sind, vermied Alkuin den Kaisertitel ebenso wie den Bezug auf das römische Reich und bezeichnete Karl schlicht als König oder König David.¹⁰⁵ Die Antwort auf die Frage, ob Karl sich selbst für den Endkaiser hielt, muß offen bleiben, obwohl Karl wie Alkuin¹⁰⁶ geglaubt zu haben scheint, am Weltende zu leben.

III

Die fränkische Macht, die der Wucht der islamischen Eroberungswelle standgehalten hatte, dürfte auch im Orient zum Begriff geworden sein. Abgesehen davon, daß Karl der Große zu Hārūn al-Rašīd und zum Patriarchen von Jerusalem Kontakte unterhielt,¹⁰⁷ werden die im Mittelmeerhandel tätigen jüdischen und syrischen Kaufleute vom Frankenreich erzählt haben. Es hat sogar den Anschein, daß die Erfolge Karls des Großen auch unter den Christen des Orients endzeitliche Hoffnungen weckten.

In einer christlich-arabischen Weissagung,¹⁰⁸ die angeblich auf Daniel zurückgeht, wird nämlich ein über die ganze Welt regierender Friedensherrscher aus dem Westen dem ihm folgenden letzten byzantinischen Kaiser derart positiv gegenübergestellt, daß er als der eigentliche Endkaiser erscheint. Über die beiden dem Antichrist vorausgehenden Herrscher heißt es dort: Nachdem die Söhne

¹⁰² Siehe oben, n. 82; Arno Borst, 'Alkuin und die Enzyklopädie von 809,' in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. Paul Leo Butzer, Dietrich Lohrmann (Basel, 1993), S. 68.

¹⁰³ Vgl. Michael Borgolte, *Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit den Abbasiden und mit den Patriarchen von Jerusalem*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 25 (München, 1976), S. 67–76.

¹⁰⁴ Entgegen der Meinung von Adamek und Landes, vgl. Josef Adamek, *Vom römischen Endreich der mittelalterlichen Bibelerklärung*, Diss. München (Würzburg, 1938), S. 66f.; Landes, 'Apocalyptic Expectations' (siehe oben, n. 82), S. 201f.

¹⁰⁵ Vgl. Peter Classen, *Karl der Große, das Papsttum und Byzanz. Die Begründung des karolingischen Kaisertums*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 9 (Sigmaringen, 1988), S. 77–79. Classen geht freilich auf die Endkaiser-Weissagung und die von Adamek vertretene Auffassung nicht ein.

¹⁰⁶ Vgl. Borst, 'Alkuin,' S. 67 und 70.

¹⁰⁷ Vgl. Borgolte, *Gesandtenaustausch*, S. 45–107.

¹⁰⁸ Nach einer Pariser Handschrift herausgegeben und übersetzt von F. Macler, 'L'Apocalypse arabe de Daniel,' *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 49 (1904), 265–305.

Ismaels das Maß ihrer Sünden und Verbrechen erkannt und sich im Jahre 173 oder 1173 (richtig wohl: 193) — als neubekehrte Christen? — kampflos der Macht des byzantinischen Löwenjungen gebeugt hätten, werde schon bald der Glaube an Gott aus den Herzen der Christen verschwinden. Deshalb werde Gott die Menschen mit Krieg und Tod strafen. Erst nach sieben Jahren lege sich sein Zorn, und aus dem Westen erscheine ein mächtiger König, der für anderthalb (Jahr-)Wochen die Herrschaft über den Osten und den Westen der Erde erringe und zwischen Armen und Reichen alle Unterschiede beseitige, indem er die im Laufe der Zeiten angehäuften Schätze der Könige unter die Menschen verteile. Darauf folgten verschiedene Himmelserscheinungen und Erdbeben. Schließlich trete der König der Byzantiner auf, der drei (Jahr-)Wochen regiere. Er kämpfe gegen die Könige und Völker. Am Ende herrsche Hunger auf der Welt. Beim Erscheinen des Dağğāl (d.h. des Antichrist) begeben sich der König der Byzantiner nach Jerusalem. Er soll dort aber nicht etwa wie bei Ps.-Methodios abdanken und alle Macht an Gott zurückgeben, sondern im Gegenteil — bereits im Stile des Antichrist selbst¹⁰⁹ und also wie dessen Vorläufer — auf dem Thron Platz nehmen und sich die Königskrone aufsetzen. Über sein Ende oder die Art und Weise, in der er dem Dağğāl weicht, wird nichts gesagt. Indem nur von Kämpfen und Hunger die Rede ist, nicht aber von Siegen und Überfluß, gibt die Regierung dieses letzten byzantinischen Herrschers, dem sich nicht mehr die Aufgabe der Vernichtung des Islam stellt, zu Hoffnungen keinerlei Anlaß.

Das Motiv eines Friedensherrschers aus dem Westen, auf den kein positiv gezeichneter König mehr folgt, ist bereits in der aus dem 2.–4. Jahrhundert stammenden Elias-Apokalypse¹¹⁰ zu belegen. Vielleicht hat es dadurch Eingang in die hier diskutierte Weissagung gefunden, daß es unter den orientalischen Christen an politischer Aktualität gewann. Da die Weissagung offenbar kurz nach dem Tod des Hārūn al-Rašīd entstand, könnte dies bereits unter dem Eindruck der Berichte von der karolingischen Macht geschehen sein, also längst vor den Kreuzzügen.

Macler¹¹¹ hat sehr vage vermutet, die Weissagung sei wohl am ehesten auf die Kreuzzugszeit zu datieren. Das in der Edition von Macler zunächst mit 173¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Zur Tradition, daß der Antichrist im Tempel von Jerusalem Platz nimmt, vgl. Wilhelm Bousset, *Der Antichrist. In der Überlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche. Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der Apokalypse* (Göttingen, 1895), S. 104–108.

¹¹⁰ Vgl. *The Apocalypse of Elijah*, ed./tr. Albert Pietersma, Susan Turner Cornstock, Harold W. Attridge, Texts and Translations 19, Pseudepigrapha Series 9 (Chico, Calif., 1981), S. 28–33; 'Apocalypse of Elijah,' tr. O.S. Wintermute, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 1 (Garden City, N.Y., 1983), S. 740f.; *Die Elia-Apokalypse*, tr. Wolfgang Schrage, Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit 5 (Gütersloh, 1980), S. 240–242; Brian McNeil, 'Coptic Evidence of Jewish Messianic Beliefs (Apocalypse of Elijah 2:5–6),' *Rivista degli studi orientali* 51 (1977), 39–45.

¹¹¹ Macler, 'L'Apocalypse,' S. 272 und 286 n. 1 und 4. Dieser Ansicht folgt Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Studi e Testi 118, 1 (Città del Vaticano, 1944), S. 216.

¹¹² Vgl. Macler, 'L'Apocalypse,' S. 300 (ed.). In der Übersetzung, *ibid.*, S. 284, gibt Macler ohne Erklärung 193 Jahre an.

und später mit 1173¹¹³ angegebene Jahr, in dem der Weissagung zufolge der Kampf gegen den Islam durch das byzantinische Löwenjunge die entscheidende Wende erhalten sollte, bietet für eine solche Annahme keine Stütze. Abgesehen davon, daß in einer orientalischen Quelle des Mittelalters wohl schwerlich nach abendländischen Inkarnationsjahren gerechnet wurde, sind diese Zahlen offenbar als Abschreibfehler in einer auch sonst nicht fehlerlosen Handschrift zu betrachten. Ursprünglich dürfte das Todesjahr des Kalifen Hārūn al-Rašīd, nämlich das Jahr 193 islamischer Zeitrechnung (25. Oktober 808–14. Oktober 809), gemeint gewesen sein, denn für eine Interpretation des ebenfalls in Hārūns Regierungszeit fallenden Jahres 173 islamischer Zeitrechnung (31. Mai 789–19. Mai 790) als Wendepunkt läßt sich kein Ereignis oder sonstiges Argument anführen, und im Arabischen sind die Zahlen 7 und 9 in ausgeschriebener Form leicht zu verwechseln.¹¹⁴ Da außerdem in der Weissagung Ereignisse Erwähnung finden, die zeitlich bis zum — als Kampf zwischen zwei Flügeln beschriebenen — Krieg zwischen Hārūns Söhnen al-Amīn und al-Ma'mūn reichen, ist sie wohl in dem Jahrzehnt nach dem Tod des Hārūn al-Rašīd entstanden, d.h. zwischen 810 und 820 a.d. Das Löwenjunge steht vermutlich für den bereits vor seiner Thronbesteigung militärisch erfolgreichen Kaiser Leon V. (reg. 813–820).

In jeder noch heute erhaltenen Weissagung muß freilich mit Aktualisierungen gerechnet werden, die nicht der ursprünglichen Fassung entsprechen. Deshalb ist trotz der Datierung auf das frühe 9. Jahrhundert nicht auszuschließen, daß es sich bei der Gestalt des Friedensherrschers aus dem Westen um einen nachträglichen Einschub aus späterer Zeit handeln könnte.

Zum Schluß sei kurz noch eine byzantinische, 716 oder 717 entstandene, aber in einer Bearbeitung von 801 oder 802 erhaltene Weissagung¹¹⁵ erwähnt, in der die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen eine endzeitliche Deutung findet. Offenbar wird Karl als der letzte Kaiser betrachtet. Die Züge des Endkaisers trägt allerdings ein

¹¹³ Ibid., S. 301 (ed.) und 286 (tr.).

¹¹⁴ Weil der letzte ihrer drei Buchstaben identisch ist und die beiden ersten sich nur durch drei diakritische Punkte unterscheiden, die in arabischen Handschriften häufig genug fehlen. Wahrscheinlich ist 193 zu 173 und dann noch 173 zu 1173 verschrieben, vielleicht von verschiedenen Abschreibern.

¹¹⁵ Ihr Text ist ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert von Klaus Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegesse. Eine altkirchliche Apokalypse*, Studia post-biblica 27 (Leiden, 1976).

Berger datiert die Weissagung auf die Jahre 801 oder 802. Dagegen glaubt Mango sie mit guten Gründen bereits 716 oder 717 entstanden, vgl. Cyril Mango, 'The Life of St Andrew the Fool Reconsidered,' *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 2 (1982), 310–313. Dieser Auffassung schließt sich Brandes an, vgl. Wolfram Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur,' in *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.–9. Jahrhundert)*. Bestand und Probleme, ed. Friedhelm Winkelmann und Wolfram Brandes (Amsterdam, 1990), S. 317f. Mango und Brandes lassen aber die Möglichkeit unbeachtet, daß es sich bei der Weissagung, so wie sie uns erhalten ist, um eine spätere Bearbeitung handeln könnte. Jedenfalls gibt es für die Angabe, die Herrschaft werde von Byzanz genommen und Rom gegeben werden, keine bessere Erklärung. Mango (S. 312 n. 67) sieht darin keine Anspielung auf Karls Kaiserkrönung, sondern vielleicht einen Reflex der Absicht Kaiser Constans' II., Rom wieder zur Hauptstadt seines Reiches zu machen. Dies erscheint wenig plausibel, zumal Constans II. bereits 668 gestorben war.

vorher regierender Byzantiner. Längst schon für tot gehalten, soll er die Macht der Araber brechen und ein Reich des Friedens schaffen. Davon aber, daß er in Jerusalem seine Macht an Gott zurückgeben werde, ist keine Rede. Nach ihm soll der Weissagung zufolge 'ein Szepter vom Norden' regieren, unter dem sich Gesetz- und Sittenlosigkeit ausbreiteten, sodann ein fremdstämmiger Mann aus dem Süden und schließlich eine befleckte und fremdstämmige Frau, die wohl mit der von Karl dem Großen als Kaiserin anerkannten Irene¹¹⁶ zu identifizieren ist. Weiter heißt es, in dieser Zeit werde die Herrschaft von Byzanz genommen und Rom gegeben werden. Ohne daß dabei Karl der Große erwähnt wird, ist schon im nächsten Satz von einem in Jerusalem regierenden König namens Dan die Rede, unter dem die Juden die Christen in aller Welt bedrängten. Danach machten sie den Antichrist zu ihrem König. Auf die Herrschaft Roms geht der Verfasser bzw. Bearbeiter der Weissagung also nicht näher ein. Seiner Ansicht nach sollte sie wohl nur von kurzer Dauer sein und bereits mit Karl dem Großen enden. Offenbar stand für ihn das Weltende nahe bevor.

¹¹⁶ Zur ersten allein regierenden Frau auf dem byzantinischen Kaiserthron vgl. Werner Ohnsorge, 'Das Kaisertum der Eirene und die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen,' in *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild*, ed. Herbert Hunger, Wege der Forschung 341 (Darmstadt, 1975), S. 281–332 (mit einem Nachtrag zur ursprünglichen Fassung von 1963), besonders S. 285–298. Das Motiv der schändlichen Frau, die auf sieben Bergen sitzt oder über die siebenhügelige Stadt herrscht, findet sich außer in der Offenbarung des Johannes 17–18, 8 auch in anderen Weissagungen wie den *Oracula Sibyllina* und ist vielleicht durch das Bild der Kleopatra geprägt, vgl. Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur,' S. 319 n. 2.

Pope Gregory VII and the Bearing of Arms

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While discussing the origins of the crusades in his by now classic survey of crusading, Hans Eberhard Mayer pointed out that, when making his crusading plans, Pope Urban II could look back to his predecessor, Gregory VII, who paid a great deal of attention to the knightly classes and tried to win them over to fight in the service of the church.¹ The purpose of this paper is to consider some of the ways in which Gregory can be seen from his letters and from other evidence to have concerned himself with the bearing of arms and thus to have prepared the way for the crusade as preached by Urban.

The moral problems raised by the bearing of arms arose in an acute form in connection with the administration of penance, which was among Gregory's most pressing concerns. For it is well to remember how seriously the great popes of the Middle Ages took the pastoral responsibilities of their office, and not least that of overseeing penance. A century or so after Gregory's lifetime, when Pope Alexander III was on his travels, someone acclaimed him as a good pope. 'If I judge well,' he replied, 'if I preach well, and if I award penance, I shall be a good pope.'² Gregory would probably have agreed. It is, therefore, instructive to notice an occasion at the beginning of his pontificate which illustrates the awarding of penance as then customary. In 1071, Peter Raymundi, son of Raymond Berengar I, count of Barcelona, had murdered his stepmother, Almodis of la Marche. In 1073, Gregory referred to the cardinals of the Roman church, by which was probably meant a cross-section of the Roman clergy headed by cardinal-bishops, the task of determining his penance.³ They were said to have acted mercifully rather than with canonical rigour. Nevertheless, they awarded twenty-four years of graduated, but complex and burdensome, penance, which was set out in detail. One provision was that Peter Raymundi should on no account carry military arms, except in two contingencies: to defend himself against enemies, and to ride to battle against the Saracens.⁴

¹ Mayer, *Crusades*, p. 19.

² 'Si scirem, "Bien juar, et bien predicar, et penitense donar, je seroie boene pape":' Peter Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, cap. 65, PL 205:199C.

³ Bishops were key figures in awarding penance: *Gregorii VII Registrum*, 6.5b(6), ed. Erich Caspar, MGH Epp. sel. 2:404. One would envisage such a body as is seen in *Il regesto di Farfa compilato da Gregorio di Catino*, ed. Ignazio Giorgi and Ugo Balzani, 5 vols. (Rome, 1883–1914), no. 1010, 5:9–11.

⁴ Paul F. Kehr, 'Das Papsttum und der katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon,' *Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 1* (Berlin, 1926), no. 7, pp. 80–81. For the murder, see *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, cap. 4, ed. L. Barrau Dihigo

Here was penance being awarded conscientiously but along traditional lines for public sin. It posed the obvious problem of being cumbersome: it imposed a heavy penance for a single grave sin, rather than taking into balanced account all of a man's sins; it also left a man unduly hampered in pursuing his work in life and in providing for the well-being and security of himself and his family.⁵ But much other contemporary penance was open to the opposite criticism of being excessively lax. Writing in 1079 to the clergy and people of Brittany with the unreformed papacy of before 1046 evidently in mind, Gregory deplored that through ignorance and negligence there had been a lack of guidance about Christian discipline so that a custom of false, that is of insufficient, penances, or of penances that were simply disregarded, had become endemic.⁶

Between the extremes of severity and laxity, there was a need for an overhaul of the system of penances. In the period between his November synod at Rome in 1078 and his Lent synod there in 1080, the evidence of his Register suggests that Gregory was concerned on a broad front to raise the standards of clerical and lay life.⁷ A major item of his agenda was the problem of true and false penance.

It was first raised in 1078, when a decree was made which kept largely within the lines of practice which Peter Raymundi's penance illustrates.⁸ False penances were defined as insufficient penances which were not imposed by the standards of the best authorities of the past according to the gravity of the offence. To ensure that a penance was sufficient, if a man were guilty of a major sin and if his profession were one which could not be followed without incurring sin — the decree instanced the knight, the merchant, and the steward — he must accept that he could not perform a true penance, that is, one which would lead to eternal life, unless he abstained from his profession. In the case of a knight, he must, like Peter Raymundi, normally lay aside his arms; although, with the counsel of religious bishops, he might use them 'pro defendenda iustitia', that is, to defend his own or others' rightful interest.⁹ The decree explained that the sins inescapable for the knight and the other professions named were hatred and the wrongful seizure

and J. Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1925), pp. 6–7, and for its background, Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain* (Oxford, 1992), p. 119. However, according to the *Gesta*, Peter Raimundi died *sub penitentia* in Spain, while his half-brother, Count Berengar Raymond II, died *sub penitentia* as a *peregrinus* to Jerusalem. (Berengar Raymond was deemed responsible for the murder in 1082 of his brother Count Raymond Berengar II, but he was convicted and deposed only in 1096; he died en route for Jerusalem in 1097).

⁵ See, e.g., Urban II's ruling of 1089 to a plea of the archbishop of Rouen about hardship to families when penances included periods of exile: *Epistolae pontificum Romanorum ineditae*, ed. Samuel Loewenfeld (Leipzig, 1885), no. 132, p. 64.

⁶ *Reg.* 7.10, to all bishops, clergy, and laity in Brittany, 25 Nov. 1079, pp. 471–472.

⁷ See the records of the synods of Nov. 1078, Feb. 1079, and Mar. 1080: *Reg.* 6.5*b*, pp. 400–406; 6.17*a*, p. 425; 7.14*a*, pp. 480–482.

⁸ *Reg.* 6.5*b*, p. 404.

⁹ This represents a development upon Peter Raymundi's penance but is consistent with Gregory's letter to the Bretons: *Reg.* 7.10, p. 472, lines 10–12.

of others' goods. The decree ended by recognizing that this penitential regime carried the danger of inducing despair; as an interim measure for reducing the danger, the decree urged the sinner to do what good works he could, 'so that God might enlighten his mind to penitence.'¹⁰ The last phrase recalls the provision in Peter Raymundi's penance that the pope and the apostolic see should grant an alleviation (*remedium*) if they discerned in the penitent 'a contrite and humbled heart, for according to the prophetic word a troubled spirit is approved by God as an acceptable sacrifice' (Ps. 50 [Vg.]. 19).

This decree was patently not intended to be the papacy's last word about penance. It still envisaged a heavy burden for one sin, rather than taking into balanced view all a man's sins. It did not satisfactorily define what constituted a true penance. It seriously hampered a man in pursuit of his livelihood. It recognized the danger that the uncertainty in which it left a man might plunge him into despair.

That Gregory soon gave further thought to the problems is apparent in his letter to the Bretons of about a year later.¹¹ It seems to embody rulings intended for widespread circulation. While its directions in general match those of 1078, the emphasis was moved from false penances, which were not now even defined, to true penances. The consequence for knights was that, in one sense, the position of those whose professions 'can scarcely be performed without sin' was made worse, for persisting in such avocations was now equated outright with homicide, adultery or perjury. In another sense, the knight's position became better; for so long as he followed the advice of religious men well versed in counsel leading to salvation, he might carry arms not only to protect his own right (*iustitia*) but also that of his lord, his friend, or the poor and in defence of churches. Good works were not now loosely attached extras but they were recognized within the penance itself. More important still, in 1079 Gregory brought to the forefront two deeper requirements about penance which had hitherto been understated. The first was that penance should be complete, in the sense of relating to all sins committed. This, no doubt, explains why the hatred of one's neighbour involved in warfare, like the predations on others' goods inherent in business or administration, was placed on a level with murder or adultery or perjury. A penance was, therefore, unfruitful — a fresh concept in 1079 — if it were so discharged that a man persisted in his fault or in another of comparable gravity. Secondly, a penance must be accompanied by complete conversion. Whoever would be worthily penitent must return to the beginning of faith. He must be careful vigilantly to keep everything that he promised in baptism: to renounce the devil and all his pomps, and to believe in God by discerning what is right about him and by obeying his commandments. For the penitent who carried arms, there was now, on the one hand, a heightened call to recognize the sins inherent in his everyday manner of life; but, on the other, there was a call to listen to 'religious

¹⁰ It is to be remembered that the Latin word *penitentia* means both 'penance' and 'penitence'.

¹¹ *Reg.* 7.10.

men' for guidance in a widening range of ways in which he might rightly use his weapons. Here were the essentials of a contrast between warfare according to the purposes of man and warfare as directed by the church towards acceptable ends.

A decree of Gregory's Lent synod in 1080 carried matters further still.¹² It reads as though based upon a fervent address by Gregory himself. Conversion of life was its dominant theme. Those who wished to escape hell and to gain heaven must above all guard against false penances; for as false baptism does not wipe out original sin, so false penance does not cancel an offence committed after baptism. Thus, all who have committed grave sins should open their souls to wise and religious men so that by true penance they might secure sure pardon for their sins. True penance is seen when, after committing any grave wrong, a man turns wholly to God and repents of all his sins. To emphasize the word 'all', the decree cited the Lord's word by the prophet Ezekiel: 'If the unrighteous shall be converted from *all* his sins and shall keep *the whole* of my commandments, he shall surely live and not die' (Ezek. 18.21). It was clear to everyone, the decree continued, that no one who continued to bear arms against righteousness (*contra iustitiam*) or kept hatred in his heart, had turned wholly to God or done true penance. In this decree, Gregory did not expressly return to the circumstances in which a man might with justice bear arms. But he ended by reinforcing the point that, in accepting penance, recourse should be had only to righteous and experienced men whose religious and scriptural knowledge would guide penitents in the way of truth and salvation. The implication was that arms were justly borne when men were obedient to the guidance of right-minded clerical mentors.

There are indications that Gregory's rethinking between 1078 and 1080 of the subject of true and false penances set precedents for some elements in Urban's summons to the crusade in 1095. It should be remembered that he had moved from Cluny to Rome c.1080 and thereafter knew Gregory's mind from close and admiring familiarity. Gregory's insistence upon penance for all sins may be reflected in Urban's crusading canon, in which the expedition to Jerusalem was to be reckoned 'pro omni penitentia'; in his letter to the Bolognese of 1096, Urban expanded this into a promise that a crusader might expect release from all penance for sins concerning which he had made true and full confession ('veram et perfectam confessionem'). A twelfth-century record of the canons of Clermont attributed to Urban the outright statement that penance for one sin only was profitless; a man seeking relief from one sin must get rid of all the rest.¹³ Gregory's emphasis upon complete inner conversion and a return to baptismal

¹² Reg. 7.14a(5), pp. 481–482.

¹³ Robert Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II, 1: Decreta Claromontensia*, *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum, Supplementum 1* (Amsterdam, 1972), pp. 74 (Liber Lamberti, canon 2), 115 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 90, canon 25); Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck, 1901), no. 3, pp. 137–138. For Urban's insistence upon the need for penance for all sins, see also the first part of canon 16 of his council of Melfi (1089): Mansi, *Concilia* 20:724; repeated as canon 22 of Innocent II's Second Lateran Council (1139) in *Concilia oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and others, 3rd ed. (Bologna, 1973), p. 202.

purity may likewise have prepared the ground for Urban's requirement that a man go to Jerusalem 'pro sola devotione' and not for honour or money, as for the canon attributed to him that 'medicine can be given only to him who is penitent with his whole heart.'¹⁴ Again, Gregory's extension of the reasons for which penitent knights might still bear arms to the protection of the poor and the defence of churches, together with his advice that penitents perform good works, can scarcely but have helped towards Urban's crusade with its objective of freeing the church of Jerusalem. In such ways, Gregory's presentation of true penance helped the preaching of the crusade by Urban as by the bishops, abbots and others who were of his mind.

Gregory's conciliar legislation also worked in what was, at least at first sight, a contrary direction so far as the moral acceptability of bearing arms is concerned. It is widely recognized that, despite his stature amongst the medieval popes, Gregory left relatively little mark upon the development of canon law or of Christian literature in general.¹⁵ The principal exception is the decrees of the November synod of 1078, which were quite extensively cited in canon law collections up to and including Gratian's *Decretum* of c.1140.¹⁶ There seems to have been a major publicity effort, and the circumstances for its success were more favourable than in the early 1080s, with the renewed breach between Gregory and King Henry IV of Germany. The result was that Gregory's decree of 1080 which expressed his developed and most forward-looking position about penitence in relation to the bearing of arms went largely unnoticed in the canonical tradition;¹⁷ but the decree of November 1078, with its plain statement that the knight could not go about his business without committing sin, its requirement that a man doing penance must normally lay aside his arms, and its acknowledgement of a knight's liability to despair, was widely known under Gregory's name. Up to c.1140, a substantial number of canonical manuscripts survive which preserve it.¹⁸ Most important of all for its survival in canon law, Gratian of Bologna included it in his *De penitentia*, whence it in due course passed into his *Decretum*.¹⁹ It also appears outside the canon-law tradition. The German regular canon and polemicist Gerhoh of Reichersberg twice cited it in writings of c.1130.²⁰ No less

¹⁴ Somerville, *Councils*, pp. 74, 115.

¹⁵ See especially John Gilchrist, 'The Reception of Pope Gregory VII into the Canon Law,' *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung* 90 (1973), 35–82; 110 (1980), 192–229.

¹⁶ See especially Gilchrist's figures: 'Reception,' pp. 70–71, 223–224.

¹⁷ Gilchrist notes a citation only in the unimportant *Collection in Thirteen Books*, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Savigny 3, fol. 148v; it is limited to Reg. 7.14a, p. 482, lines 12–18: Gilchrist, 'Reception,' p. 60. A version survives in the Volterra *Ordo officiorum: De Sancti Hugonis actis liturgicis*, ed. Mario Bocci (Florence, 1984), p. 79.

¹⁸ See the MSS listed by Gilchrist, 'Reception.'

¹⁹ *De penitentia*, D.5, c.6, in *Corpus iuris canonici*. Editio Lipsiensis secunda, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879–81), 1:1241.

²⁰ Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Liber de edificio Dei*, marginalia to cap. 113, and *Epistola ad Innocentium papam*, ed. Ernst Sackur, MGH Libelli de lite 3:181, 231.

decisive for its long-term influence, Peter Lombard found a place for it in his principal work, the *Sententiarum libri quattuor*, written in the late 1150s.²¹

In this way, through the widespread and protracted circulation of what had been, on his part, a provisional and tentative decree upon which he quickly improved, Gregory himself contributed to the persistence far into the twelfth century of the opinion that a knight's arms could not be used without falling into sin. It is, however, unlikely that Gregory's decree of 1078 was a restraint upon crusade preaching; on the contrary, it probably facilitated it and complemented the revised decree of 1080 in promoting it. For the two strands in Gregory's legislation helped to establish the contrast, fundamental for early crusade preaching, between the everyday secular violence of the knight, and his rightful pursuit of warfare as directed by spiritual authority to a religious end. The contrast is already apparent in the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres's account of Urban II's preaching at Clermont. Urban contrasted the domestic warfare, soiled by robbery, slaughter and greed, in which knights had hitherto worn themselves out to their own detriment in body and soul, with the external warfare directed against pagans which would win remission of sins: 'Let those now become soldiers of Christ (*Christi milites*) who before were plunderers.'²² The contrast was more elegantly stated by St Bernard of Clairvaux, when he set the *malitia* of worldly conflict with its accompaniment of anger, vain-glory and greed over against the new, crusading *militia* of those who, as *Christi milites*, might in all peace of mind fight the battles of the Lord.²³ It would be wrong to represent Gregory's two decrees as the direct inspiration of Bernard's antithesis. But by somewhat different routes, they prepared the way for his two kinds of warfare and service,²⁴ the one to be shunned but the other to be embraced, by the Knights Templar but also by other crusading warriors.

The most significant features of Gregory's concern between 1078 and 1080 to regulate penances were undoubtedly his desire for the complete conversion of the sinner and his gathering insistence that penitents should have recourse to truly religious men who would direct them, not least as regards the purposes to which they put their weapons. Inner conversion and properly guided warfare were to go hand in hand. The rapid mutation in Gregory's thought about penance did not stand alone; it arose from his wider concern, manifest from the earliest

²¹ *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, 4.16.3, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Grottaferrata, 1971–81), 2:339–340. For the interpretation of Gregory's decree by Gratian, Peter Lombard, and others, see Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 214–218. A description of trading, military service, and administration on behalf of lay authorities as avocations which 'sine admixtione mali non sunt administranda' also appears in the Pseudo-Augustinian tract *Liber de vera et falsa penitentia* 15.30: PL 40:1111–1130, at col. 1125. The date of the tract is uncertain, but the *terminus ante quem* is its citation in Gratian's *Decretum* of c.1140. While any date from the early tenth century is possible, its theological sophistication points to the early twelfth century. If this is so, it reflects rather than anticipates Gregory's rulings.

²² FC 1.2–3, pp. 123–138.

²³ *De laude novae militiae*, caps. 2–3, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, and H.M. Rochais, 8 vols. (Rome, 1957–77), 3:216–221.

²⁴ It should be remembered that the Latin word *militia* means both 'warfare' and 'service'.

days of his pontificate, to use the knightly classes for the service of the church in ways that would win them reward in this world and the next. In return, it in the long run served to invest warfare with a saving quality which raised it in itself into a means of conversion from iniquity and of fulfilling God's commandments, especially that of charity to one's neighbour.

One means by which Gregory might be expected to have raised the bearing of arms above the reproach of necessarily involving sin is the propagation of St Augustine of Hippo's doctrine of the just war.²⁵ However, this must be set aside. Gregory's cast of mind was not theoretical or speculative, and he shows little sign of being in any way directly indebted to Augustine. He cited him in his letters only once.²⁶ In none of his references to warfare or coercion is it possible to see any mark of Augustine's teaching.

More characteristically, Gregory set a stamp of his own upon military campaigns that were actually planned or fought. Campaigns under papal guidance or even leadership were a not infrequent feature of recent papal history.²⁷ They grew in frequency under Gregory, and there are signs that he aspired to raise at least some of them above the reproach of involving sin. His means were their close supervision, on his behalf, by bishops. Thus, in 1076, he heard that Count Roger of Sicily sought reconciliation with the Roman church before campaigning against the Saracens in Sicily. He forthwith ordered Archbishop Arnald of Acerenza to hasten to him and, if he found him truly penitent, to absolve him. He was also to absolve his knights who were about to fight the pagans, so long as they, too, were penitent. Such was accepted practice. Gregory then added two injunctions of his own which the archbishop was religiously to urge upon the count in respect of his prospective warfare in order that he might deserve victory over his enemies. First, he should keep himself from capital offences, and secondly he should strive to enlarge regard for the Christian name ('christiani nominis culturam') amongst the pagans. This, rather than Augustine's theory of a just war, was Gregory's way of moralizing armed conflict. His second injunction was similar to his advice to the Christian minority in Muslim North Africa, whom Gregory urged so to let their light shine before the Saracens that, seeing it, they would glorify the Christians' Father in heaven (cf. Matt. 5.16).²⁸

In July 1080, and so a few months after his decree on penance at his Lent synod, Gregory wrote to all the bishops of Apulia and Calabria in anticipation of a campaign across the Adriatic by which he hoped that Robert Guiscard, the Norman duke of Apulia, would restore to the Byzantine throne the deposed

²⁵ For a summary of Augustine's teaching, see Russell, *Just War*, pp. 15–26.

²⁶ Gregory cited Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana* 1.23 in *Reg.* 8.21, to Bishop Hermann of Metz, 15 Mar. 1081, p. 556.

²⁷ See Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935), pp. 21–24, 107–133, Eng. trans. *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, by Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, 1977), pp. 25–28, 118–140.

²⁸ *Reg.* 3.11, to Archbishop Arnald of Acerenza, 14 Mar. 1076, pp. 271–272; cf. 3.20, to the clergy and people of Bougie (May/June 1076), pp. 286–287.

Emperor Michael VII Ducas (1071–1077); for a Greek had arrived at Bari who gave himself out to be the ex-emperor.²⁹ As their office required, the bishops were most diligently to urge the knights who would cross the sea to perform appropriate penances. Again, so far, Gregory followed established usage. But, consonantly with his decree of 1080, he added moral demands: they must, as befitted Christians, keep true faith with the duke and with the *soi-disant* emperor; in all their deeds, they were to hold in view the fear and love of God; and they were to continue in good works. Upon these conditions, Gregory ordered the bishops on his own, or rather on St Peter's, authority to absolve them from all their sins.³⁰ Gregory's letter may be compared with Pope Alexander II's undated fragment addressed 'clero Vulturicensi', in which the clergy were to urge persons who purposed to travel to Spain whether as warriors or as pilgrims to give effect to their intentions. As in 1080, each was to confess his sins according to their gravity to his bishop or other spiritual father, and an appropriate penance was to be imposed. But whereas Gregory ordered the bishops to exhort the knights to good conduct before he absolved them, Alexander promised the raising of penance and the remission of sins, having made no reference to moral dispositions or good works.³¹ Gregory's advance upon Alexander's practice seems to have

²⁹ For the circumstances, see Herbert E.J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 143, 145.

³⁰ Reg. 8.6, to the bishops of Apulia and Calabria, 25 July 1080, pp. 523–524; cf. the instructions which Gregory's legate in Lombardy, Bishop Anselm II of Lucca, gave to his future biographer before the battle of Sorbaria in 1084 about the reconciliation of excommunicates and their absolution before fighting: '... hoc in mandatis praecipue commendans nobis, ut si cum excommunicatis communicassent, primitus illos absolveremus, et tunc pariter omnes auctoritate apostolica et sua benediceremus, instruantes eos, quo pacto quave intentione deberent pugnare, sicque in remissionem omnium peccatorum eorum instantis belli committeremus periculum.' *Vita Anselmi episcopi Lucensis*, cap. 23, ed. Roger Wilmans, MGH SS 12:20.

³¹ For Alexander's letter, see *Epistolae pontificum*, ed. Loewenfeld, no. 82, p. 43. The see to which it is addressed is uncertain, though the suggestion of Volterra is attractive, since the names *Vulturnensis*, *Wlturnensis*, and *Vulturnensis* occur: MGH *Constitutiones et acta publica*, 1:545, 572; since Volterra was directly subject to the apostolic see, a papal ruling about penance would be particularly likely. Historians have usually associated the fragment with warfare in Spain against the Saracens, and have sometimes had in mind the Barbastro campaign of 1064. But difficulties about this have recently been pointed out, with the suggestion that the fragment may relate, instead, to pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela: Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 72–78. Bull's arguments are strong but less than compelling: (i) Alexander's advice to receive penance 'ne diabolus accusare de inpenitentia possit' may suggest a risk of imminent death which fits warfare more than pilgrimage; (ii) the phrase 'que divinitus admoniti cogitaverunt' is restrained and neither it nor anything else in the fragment necessarily implies a concept of divinely inspired holy war which of itself attracted spiritual benefits; and (iii) as addressed to pilgrimage, the fragment would imply a raising of penance and a remission of sins at the outset which would be hard to parallel. It is, perhaps, wise to leave open the question of warfare or pilgrimage but with a presumption remaining that Alexander had in mind the former. For the introduction of general absolutions in the eleventh century, see Paul Anciaux, *La théologie du sacrement de pénitence au XIIe siècle* (Louvain, 1949), pp. 50–51.

been to add to holy, or sacralized, warfare an expressly moral quality, with a requirement of right motives (the fear and love of God) and of the pursuit of good works.³²

In campaigns that Gregory proposed to lead in person, the causes that he championed and the conviction that they were a service of St Peter likewise tended to raise the wielding of earthly arms above the reproach of sinful motives and human self-seeking. In the summer of 1080, he considered leading two expeditions. The first was to Spain, where he was persuaded that King Alfonso VI of León-Castile was complicit in crisis events which Gregory believed would bring back in his realms the Hispanic liturgical order; Gregory deemed that order to be gravely heretical. Gregory wrote to Abbot Hugh of Cluny that, if the king persisted, he would not think it excessive himself to go to Spain and bring to bear things hard and disagreeable ('*dura et aspera moliri*'), that is, to lead a military campaign, against the king as an enemy of the Christian religion. Writing as one monk to another, Gregory borrowed monastic language from the Rule of St Benedict. He adapted the spiritual service of the monastic way of life to set the tone for the earthly warfare that he envisaged and to give it moral acceptability.³³ Soon afterwards, Gregory prepared another letter calling upon clergy and laity faithful to St Peter to sponsor an autumn campaign that he would himself lead with the object of freeing the church of Ravenna from its archbishop, Guibert, whom King Henry IV of Germany at his synod of Brixen in June had chosen to be anti-pope. Gregory assigned high objectives to the campaign: the honouring of the duty of those who, like the Norman princes of South Italy, had sworn to defend the Roman church against its enemies; the fulfilling of the moral obligation to secure the return to St Peter of property — in this case, the church of Ravenna — which had been seized from him by godless men; a Christian's calling to humble the proud and to restore the peace and security of the church. By the elevation of its purposes, such warfare was calculated to justify those who took part.³⁴

³² It should, however, be observed that Gregory's use of 'religious men' to direct lay rulers and their knights in the use of arms could be exclusively temporal and without moral basis, as when he asked Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino to urge the Normans to depart from their customary abstention from warfare during Lent in order to protect the papacy's lands: *Reg.* 9.4, to Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino (early Feb. 1081), pp. 577–578.

³³ *Reg.* 8.2, to Abbot Hugh of Cluny, 27 June 1080, p. 518, lines 29–32, cf. Rule of St Benedict, 58.8, *La règle de Saint Benoît*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville, 6 vols., Sources chrétiennes 181–185 (Paris, 1971–72), 2:628.

³⁴ *Reg.* 8.7, to all the faithful of St Peter (1080, summer), pp. 524–525. Cf. Gregory's further letters about Ravenna, 8.12, to all the faithful in the marches of Tuscany and Fermo and in the exarchate of Ravenna, 15 Oct. 1080, pp. 531–532; 8.13, to all the Ravennese, 13 Oct. 1080, pp. 532–534; and 8.14, to all the faithful in the dioceses of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, in the march of Fermo, and the duchy of Spoleto, 11 Dec. 1080, pp. 534–535. The campaign came to nothing.

The most remarkable expeditions that Gregory planned to lead in person were his so-called 'crusading' projects of 1074.³⁵ In so far as they were directed against the Seljuk assailants of the Byzantine empire, they, too, raised warfare to a lofty moral level as Gregory presented them. He repeatedly alluded to the fate of eastern Christians who were being slaughtered like cattle by the pagan ravagers of the Christian empire. He called for recruits 'by way of the faith in which you have been made one through Christ in the adoption of the sons of God (cf. Rom. 8.23).' They would be defending the law of Christ and the Christian faith, and would be serving the heavenly king. Whatever they volunteered to do would have been implanted in their minds by the divine mercy; Gregory accordingly wrote to King Henry IV of Germany that the will to rise up under the pope's leadership against the enemies of God and to press on with the pope to the Lord's sepulchre at Jerusalem had become firmly established in the minds of the knights themselves. Gregory's final call to arms in December 1074 was to warfare which was wholly pleasing in the sight of God:

So, then, on behalf of St Peter we ask, urge, and invite to come to us an advance party of you who are willing to defend the Christian faith and to serve (*militare*) the heavenly king. With it, please God, we shall prepare the way for all who are willing, in defence of their heavenly birthright (*qui celestem nobilitatem defendendo*), through us to cross the sea, and who are not afraid to demonstrate that they are the sons of God. Therefore, most beloved brethren, be exceedingly strong to fight for the praise and glory that exceed all desire, since hitherto you have been strong to fight for things that you cannot hold on to or possess without vexation. For by a transitory labour you can win an eternal reward.³⁶

Although such projected campaigns elicited from Gregory eloquent statements of how warfare for a noble end might rise above sinful human desires, they were occasional and they achieved little, if anything. At once more durable and more effective was Gregory's bid to mobilize the knights, especially of Italy, Germany and France, for papal purposes in the longer term, such as the coercion of clergy who persisted in simony and fornication, or, especially in the early 1080s, his warfare against the twice-excommunicated and now schismatic King Henry IV of Germany and his designated anti-pope, Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna.³⁷ Gregory built upon an established practice in Central Italy whereby spiritual sanctions as applied by the clergy were, if necessary, backed up by physical

³⁵ The principal relevant letters of Gregory are *Reg.* 1.46, to Count William of Burgundy, 2 Feb. 1074, pp. 69–71; 1.49, to all who are willing to defend the Christian faith, 1 Mar. 1074, pp. 75–76; 2.31, to King Henry IV of Germany, 7 Dec. 1074, pp. 165–168; 2.37, to all the faithful of St Peter, especially across the Alps, 16 Dec. 1074, pp. 172–173: *The Epistolae vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and trans. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 1972), no. 5, pp. 10–13. For the background, see H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's "Crusading" Plans of 1074,' in *Outremer*, pp. 27–40 = *idem, Popes, Monks and Crusaders* (London, 1984), no. 10.

³⁶ *Reg.* 2.37, p. 173.

³⁷ See especially Erdmann, *Entstehung*, pp. 134–211, Eng. trans. pp. 148–228; Ian S. Robinson, 'Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ,' *History* 58 (1973), 161–192.

coercion as applied by the faithful laity. Gregory's letters provide examples. In 1074, the clergy and people of Fermo were to act as the free and faithful sons of their mother church in helping by all means (*modis omnibus* — in Gregory's letters, a phrase implying coercion if necessary) to recover its despoiled property. In 1075, the clergy and laity of Pesaro were to help their bishop recover goods of the see from those who held them unjustly, bringing spiritual or secular aid as proved necessary ('quatenus episcopo Pensauriensi ad eos expugnandum spirituali et seculari auxilio, prout necesse fuerit, fideliter subveniant'). At the same time, Gregory told laity at Chiusi that those who helped to expel a perjured and adulterous provost and thereby to restore their church to its pristine condition would win salvation and remission of their sins.³⁸

Gregory advanced upon such occasional use of those who bore arms in order to reinforce ecclesiastical sanctions in three, progressively more momentous, ways. First, as archdeacon and then as pope, he bestowed his approval and support upon the Patarenes of Lombardy, who used armed force against the simoniac and married or concubinous clergy whom it was a prime objective of Gregory to bring to heel.³⁹ In the early 1070s, their leader was the knight Erlembald, who engaged in bloody struggles at Milan against the ecclesiastical establishment. In Gregory's eyes, he was a *strenuissimus Christi miles*. Gregory wrote to Bishop William of Pavia that he could win favour with the Roman church by helping Erlembald in what he was doing by Gregory's counsel and from fear of God, and by joining him manfully in fighting God's warfare (*bellum Dei*) against the church's enemies.⁴⁰ In 1075, Erlembald met his end in savage rioting at Milan. At his Lent synod of 1078, Gregory treated him as a martyr and saint; according to the annalist Berthold of Reichenau, he had pursued the guilty with his military bands, compelling them to accept canonical correction or else putting them to flight and imprisoning them, and seizing and scattering all that they possessed.⁴¹ In Gregory's eyes, Erlembald's bearing of arms was to be commended because it was in a worthy cause, and it could lead to a martyr's death.

Secondly, Gregory extended the bringing to bear of lay coercion against clerks guilty of simony and fornication across the Alps to Germany and France. He did so to Germany during his strenuous campaign against its errant clergy in 1074 and 1075. Early in 1075, he told the South German dukes, Rudolf of Swabia, Berthold of Carinthia and Welf of Bavaria, that he was now turning to them

³⁸ *Reg.* 2.38, to the count, clergy, and people of Fermo, 22 Dec. 1074, pp. 174–175; 2.46, to Abbots Gepizo of S. Bonifacio and Maurus of S. Sabas, 13 Jan. 1075, pp. 185–186; 2.47, to named and unnamed residents of the county of Chiusi, 13 Jan. 1075, pp. 186–187. See H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII and the Bishops of Central Italy,' *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 34 (1993), 51–64, esp. pp. 59–61.

³⁹ See H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 18 (1968), 25–48 = idem, *Popes, Monks and Crusaders*, no. 5.

⁴⁰ *Reg.* 1.27, to Bishop-elect Albert of Acqui, 13 Oct. 1073, pp. 44–45; 1.28, to Bishop William of Pavia, 13 Oct. 1073, pp. 45–46.

⁴¹ Berthold, *Annales*, a. 1077, MGH SS 5:305–306.

for energetic action, irrespective of the bishops, against clergy guilty of simony or fornication; whether in the king's court or whether in other localities and assemblies, they should prevent the ministrations of such clergy, even by force should it be called for ('etiam vi si oportuerit').⁴² In France, Gregory turned to the knights (*militēs*) for comparable service. By 1081, many of them had been giving his legates, Bishops Hugh of Die and Amatus of Oloron, their support and aid in coercing priestly fornicators and simoniacs; Gregory was anxious that their pressure should be maintained, even though they had fallen foul of the legates by not surrendering their tithes.⁴³ Since the legates were mainly operative in the south and west of France, Gregory's use of the armed force of the knights to advance his reforming purposes was fairly widespread.

Thirdly, after his breach in 1080 with King Henry IV of Germany, Gregory called on the military classes wherever he could find a response not to oppose only the abuses of simony and clerical fornication but also to defend the Christian faith itself at a time when he saw the time of Antichrist approaching with its threat of destruction for the Christian religion.⁴⁴ Early in 1075, in the shadow of disappointment at the lack of support from clergy and laity alike for his plans of the previous year, Gregory already adumbrated such a call in a letter to Abbot Hugh of Cluny:

And because we ought to use either hand as a right hand (Judg. 3.15) to subdue the violence of wicked men, it is needful, seeing that there is no prince who attends to such matters, for ourselves to protect the life of religious men. With brotherly charity we enjoin you to the best of your ability to extend your hand with watchful zeal by warning, beseeching and urging those who love St Peter that, if they would truly be his sons and knights (*militēs*), they should not hold secular princes more dear than him. For secular princes reluctantly grant wretched and transient things; but he, by loosing from all sins, promises things blessed and eternal, and by the power committed to him (Matt. 16.19) he brings men to a heavenly home. I wish to know who are truly loyal (*fideles*) to him, and who love their heavenly prince for heavenly glory no less than to those to whom they are subject for an earthly and wretched hope.⁴⁵

From 1082 onwards, Gregory in several letters developed a contrast between the large number of secular knights who, from motives of base reward, would lay down their lives for their lords, and the few who were prepared to stand firm in defence of the Christian religion.⁴⁶ In Gregory's last encyclical which he sent in 1084 from Salerno, the contrast was sharpened into a clarion call to the few who, for love of Christ's law, were determined to stand fast in face of the ungodly: 'We may not allow the sons of holy church to be made subject to

⁴² Reg. 2.45, to the South German dukes, 11 Jan. 1075, pp. 182–185.

⁴³ Reg. 9.5, to Bishops Hugh of Die and Amatus of Oloron (1081), pp. 579–580.

⁴⁴ *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 54, pp. 132–135.

⁴⁵ Reg. 2.49, to Abbot Hugh of Cluny, 22 Jan. 1075, pp. 188–190.

⁴⁶ Reg. 9.21, to all bishops, abbots, clergy, and laity faithful to the apostolic see (1082), pp. 601–603; see also *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 51, pp. 122–125.

heretics, adulterers and intruders as though such men were their fathers, nor to be stigmatized through them as by the reproach of adulterous birth.' Gregory asked and commanded the few to help and succour their father (St Peter, the prince of the apostles) and mother (the Roman church, mother and mistress of all the churches), if through them they would have the absolution of all their sins, and blessing and grace in this world and in the world to come.⁴⁷ The call was for more than armed service, but it certainly included it. Like his decrees about penance, Gregory's last encyclicals divided those who bore arms into opposing camps — those who bore them from base motives in the corrupt service of this world, and those who bore them in the service of God and for the purposes of the Christian religion. Such service ennobled, and it raised their bearing of arms above the reproach of sinfulness. It pointed to the crusade.

Gregory also did much to raise the bearing of arms above the reproach that it of necessity involved sin by giving attention to the motivation of individual warriors. By so doing, he complemented the part of his concern with penance that had to do with the inner conversion of the individual. Once again, he had a foundation upon which he might build, for the century or so before he became pope had witnessed attempts to refine the motives and mentalities of those who bore arms. Perhaps the most pervasive attempt had been within the liturgical tradition of the West. The Romano-Germanic Pontifical, which was compiled c.960 at Mainz and spread throughout Latin Christendom, provided a prayer for the army which asked both that those who fought might have a right motive in fighting (*proeliandi recta voluntas*) and that in the hour of victory they should imitate Christ the model victor, who by the humility of his passion triumphed on the cross over death and the prince of death.⁴⁸

The twin concepts of a good will in warfare and of the imitation of Christ in battle and victory were powerful ones. The first of them was developed by Gregory's loyal follower Bishop Anselm II of Lucca in the thirteenth book of his *Collectio canonum*, in which he was at pains to assert the freedom from sin of those engaged in warfare that was, in his framework, just — that is, warfare against Christian heretics and schismatics. He found warrant, largely in the writings of St Augustine and of Pope Gregory the Great, for such *capitula* as 'that Moses did nothing cruel when, at the Lord's command, he slew certain men,' 'concerning punishment (*vindicta*), that it should be performed not from hate but from love,' and 'that those who fight can also be righteous (*iusti*), and that necessity not choice should be the reason for laying low an enemy.'⁴⁹ Such

⁴⁷ *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 54, pp. 128–135.

⁴⁸ *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, 3 vols., Studi e testi 226–227, 249 (Vatican City, 1963–72), no. 245, 2:380. For discussion and examples of similar prayers, see Erdmann, *Entstehung*, pp. 334–335.

⁴⁹ The relevant material is best studied in Edith Pásztor, 'Lotta per le investiture e "ius belli": la posizione di Anselmo di Lucca,' in *Sant'Anselmo, Mantova e la lotta per le investiture: Atti di convegno internazionale di studi (Mantova 23–24–25 maggio 1986)*, ed. Paolo Golinelli (Bologna, 1987), pp. 375–421, esp. pp. 405–421. Anselm did not point up the question of the just war.

teaching was no doubt in the mind of Anselm's clerk who, before the battle of Sorbaria in 1084, instructed those who would take part 'on what grounds and with what intention they should fight.'⁵⁰ Theirs was to be, indeed, a *proeliandi recta voluntas*.

Gregory himself developed the other concept in the Pontifical — that of an imitation of Christ which raised warfare above the reproach of being sinful. He did so with especial force in his letters about his plan of 1074 to bring military help, which he himself would lead, to relieve Eastern Christians whom the pagan Seljuks were slaughtering like cattle. Gregory set before fighting men the supreme inner motive of self-sacrifice to the point of martyrdom which should direct their warfare.⁵¹ The example of the Redeemer himself should be allied to the duty of brotherly love to recruit armed help, 'for as he laid down his life for us, so ought we to lay down our life for our brothers (1 John 3.16).'⁵² Gregory's call to such self-sacrificial service under arms was the more compelling because he himself was willing to cross the sea and if need be to lay down his life for Christ which was the highest of human motives, 'for if, as some say, it is a noble thing to die for our country [Horace, *Carmina* 3.2.13], it is a far nobler and truly praiseworthy thing to give our corruptible flesh for Christ, who is life eternal.'⁵³ Papally-proclaimed warfare carried with it the possibility of a martyrdom which raised it to a wholly good and saving activity for those who shared its declared motive. During his last years, Gregory challenged those upon whom he called to resist Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna and King Henry IV of Germany by citing St Paul's words about sharing Christ's death and resurrection: 'If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him (*Si compatimur, et conregnabimus*) (2 Tim. 12.2).' He also praised the few who for love of Christ's law were determined to stand fast to the death in the face of the ungodly.⁵⁴ For the individual who fought, being under arms was a following of Christ which required him to perfect his motive in fighting and which carried the promise of sharing Christ's death and resurrection. It was another route to a *proeliandi recta voluntas*.

It may be concluded that Gregory was responsible for profound changes in the Christian attitude to the bearing of arms. He set objectives for warfare which had the effect of making it without qualification morally acceptable; by directing those who took part to a spiritual commitment and to singleness of motive in terms of it, he proposed it as a sanctifying element in their own lives. In both ways, he prepared the ground for the crusade. He marked out the way in which

⁵⁰ See above, n. 30.

⁵¹ For Gregory's estimate of martyrdom as the supreme aspiration of the Christian life, see his letter to Archbishop Cyriacus of Carthage, who had been imprisoned and beaten at the orders of the Muslim emir; Gregory praised the constancy of his faith, but said that the confession of his religion would have been still more precious if he had endured to the point of martyrdom: *Reg.* 1.23, 15 Sept. 1073, pp. 39–40.

⁵² *Reg.* 1.49, p. 75, lines 22–26; 2.31, p. 166, lines 20–26; 2.37, p. 173, lines 12–14.

⁵³ *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 5, pp. 12–13.

⁵⁴ *Reg.* 9.21, pp. 602, line 28 to 603, line 2; *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 54, pp. 132–133.

Urban II in 1095 preached his expedition to Jerusalem. He also foreshadowed how, as Hans Eberhard Mayer has perceptively explained, the crusade in due course became both a means of freeing the East from the oppression of the heathen and also a means of freeing the crusaders' souls from sin.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Mayer, *Crusades*, p. 96.

The Earliest Hospitallers

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The Order of St John had its origins in the Latin hospice which had been established in Jerusalem several decades before the crusaders took the city in 1099. Very soon after the conquest this hospice became a quasi-independent hospitaller institution which developed by stages into a virtually autonomous religious order.¹ It did not begin to exercise any military role until the 1130s.²

The standard account of the emergence of the Hospital down to about 1120 was that of the learned William of Tyre, who probably wrote after about 1170. William was born into a family which had settled in Jerusalem and as archbishop of Tyre and chancellor of the kingdom he was well informed about the Hospitallers. Jacques de Vitry who wrote even later, probably in about 1220, largely followed William of Tyre, but where he added extra or variant details concerning the Hospital's early history they appear unconvincing. For the period before 1099 the only useful contemporary sources are the very brief passages in the anonymous Amalfitan chronicle and in another contemporary south Italian chronicle, that of Amato di Monte Cassino who was dead by 1105. The earliest known version of the Hospital's own beginnings, contained in the *Miracula* or legends which were first written down perhaps between 1140 and 1150 and certainly by 1185,

¹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus: c.1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 32–43, and in greater detail Rudolf Hiestand, 'Die Anfänge der Johanniter,' in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. Joseph Fleckenstein – Manfred Hellmann (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 31–56. Many sources are collected in Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *De Prima Origine Hospitaliariorum Hierosolymitanorum* (Paris, 1885), and in *Cart Hosp.* Idem, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre: 1100–1310* (Paris, 1904), is now partially outdated. These works contain the essential bibliography. Some repetition here of what has already been established is inevitable, and similar ground is covered in parts of Michael Matzke, 'De Origine Hospitaliorum Hierosolymitanorum: vom klösterlichen Pilgerhospital zur internationalen Organisation,' *Journal of Medieval History* (forthcoming); its author most generously provided an advance copy of his paper and discussed his materials in great detail. Alain Beltjens, *Aux origines de l'Ordre de Malte: de la fondation de l'Hôpital de Jérusalem à sa transformation en ordre militaire* (Brussels, 1995), appeared after the completion of this paper.

² Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' pp. 64–76. A Hospitaller *frater* was described as *constabularius Hospitalis* in 1126 (*Cart Hosp.*, no. 74), but he was not necessarily in command of Hospitaller *fratres*: cf. Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' p. 65. Henry Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (New Haven, 1994), p. 6, claims that an Aragonese text of 1130 shows the master sending knights, active military brethren, to fight in Spain, whereas the document merely provided for an annual meal (*cena*) there for two Hospitaller brethren and their armed followers — 'duobus fratribus cum suis armigeris': Santos García Larragueta, *El Gran Priorado de Navarra de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén: siglos XII–XIII*, 2 vols. (Pamplona, 1957), 1:226–227; 2: no. 9.

was limited to elaborations of biblical stories.³ Only later did certain versions of the *Miracula*, the two earliest to survive being datable to about 1288 and about 1303,⁴ add the legend of the miraculous participation in the siege of 1099 of the Hospital's earliest known ruler, Gerard. The Hospital's Chronicle of the Deceased Masters, which evidently grew out of a commemoration list, must have preserved established traditions, but only certain manuscripts described Gerard's miracle, the earliest surviving manuscript to do so being datable as late as 1314–15.⁵ William of Tyre and the *Miracula* were known to the Hospitaller Guglielmo di Santo Stefano who composed a discussion of the Order's origins shortly before 1303; he added a few otherwise unknown details but seems not to have had access to any major unknown source.⁶ William of Tyre and the other late sources may partly have distorted the facts relating to the Order's earliest history.⁷

* * *

Some time before 1071 a group of Italians from Amalfi began to take charge of the hospice for Western pilgrims in Jerusalem newly established, as the successor of a much earlier Latin one, in the Benedictine monastery of St Mary of the Latins immediately south-west of the Holy Sepulchre; by 1081–82 a convent of female Benedictines dedicated to St Mary Magdalene had been founded just south of St Mary of the Latins to care for women pilgrims; and subsequently the Amalfitans built a third hospice, apparently for men only, which was separate from but still dependent upon St Mary of the Latins.⁸ This third hospice stood just west of St Mary Magdalene roughly between the Holy Sepulchre and the fifth-century Byzantine Greek church of St John the Baptist.⁹ According to William of Tyre, the male and female hospices had no possessions or incomes but received annual donations sent by the Benedictines and merchants of Amalfi to the abbot of St Mary of the Latins.¹⁰ The Amalfitan chronicle recorded that in the two *hospitalia* built in or before about 1080 the sick of both sexes were cared for by persons who followed a quasi-religious way of life intended to facilitate their task: 'vitam religiosam fere instituerant.'¹¹ At that time many lay people in the West,

³ *The Hospitallers' 'Riwe': ('Miracula et Regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani')*, ed. Keith Sinclair (London, 1984), pp. xlv–xlvi.

⁴ Texts in RHC Occ 5:405–421.

⁵ Paris, BN fr. 1978, fol. 167r.

⁶ Text in RHC Occ 5:422–427, discussed in Delaville, *Hospitalliers*, pp. 24–29; Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 32–36.

⁷ This paper concentrates on the more contemporary sources.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 34–37; Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' pp. 32–37.

⁹ Hugues Vincent – Félix Abel, *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2, parts 3–4 (Paris, 1922–26), pp. 646–647, 959–964; Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land: 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 67–68, 274–281, 505, 554–557. See also Donald Richards, 'Saladin's Hospital in Jerusalem: Its Foundation and Some Later Archival Material,' in *The Frankish Wars and their Influence on Palestine*, ed. K. Amathania and R. Heacock (Birzeit, 1994).

¹⁰ WT 1.10, 26–27, 18.5, 65–71, pp. 123, 817.

¹¹ Quoted in Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' p. 34 n. 17.

increasingly preoccupied with religious concerns, were dedicating themselves to the maintenance of charitable institutions,¹² but distinctions between monks, canons and devoted laymen were still imprecisely defined. Those who 'instituted an almost religious life' in the two Jerusalem hospices possibly took vows or wore distinctive habits, and they may have been considered to be Benedictine lay brothers or *conversi*.¹³

The ruler of the Jerusalem hospice in 1099 was a certain Gerard whose origins, probably in Italy or southern France, were soon forgotten.¹⁴ Many decades later William of Tyre wrote that Gerard served the hospital for a long time before 1099 under the command of the abbot and monks of St Mary of the Latins.¹⁵ A later Hospitaller tradition held that Gerard was not a professed religious but simply the 'guardian' of an urban hospital.¹⁶ According to William of Tyre, Gerard remained within Jerusalem during the siege of 1099 and the Muslim defenders, who suspected him of hiding money, tortured him so severely that he largely lost the use of his hands and feet.¹⁷ This was later elaborated into a miraculous event in which Gerard was saved when the loaves he was throwing from the city to the Latin besiegers changed into stones when the Muslims arrested him.¹⁸

In 1099 a Roman hierarchy was established in Jerusalem under a Latin patriarch and Augustinian canons secular were installed in the Holy Sepulchre. This clerical group would naturally have sought to control the nearby pilgrim hospice, and very soon after the conquest the hospital's Benedictine allegiance to St Mary of the Latins was somehow dissolved. That may explain the invention, probably between about 1140 and 1160, of a biblical past for the Hospitallers which was circulated through the *Miracula* which were presumably designed to obscure the humbleness of the brethren's original status and the fact that their Benedictine

¹² Timothy Miller, 'The Knights of Saint John and the Hospitals of the Latin West,' *Speculum* 53 (1978), 712–717.

¹³ The sources bearing upon this point are all late ones.

¹⁴ Despite unending speculation, nothing is known of Gerard's origins; on the Amalfitan evidence and the absence of any Hospitaller establishment in the Amalfi area, see Bruno Figliuolo, 'Amalfi e il Levante nel Medioevo,' in *I Comuni italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. Gabriella Airaldi — Benjamin Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 590–594. Gerard used various titles but not that of master: Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' pp. 54, 76–77. Two versions of the brief Chronicle of the Deceased Masters, both datable between 1347 and 1353, said — inexplicably — of Gerard's successor, Raymond du Puy, 'fu le premier frere en hospital.' Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Add. A. 30, fol. 219r, and Paris, BN fr. 1799, fol. 179v. The published Latin version of this chronicle is a translation of 1357.

¹⁵ WT 18.5, 80–84, p. 817.

¹⁶ At least two late versions of the Chronicle of the Deceased Masters preserved the tradition: Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte 12, fol. 26r (datable 1367–83): 'Totas bet el non portet habit ni fo Religios mas que era garda ayssi cum so alcus prodomes en las bonas vilas hon ha hospitals,' and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS. Lat. 3323, fol. 6r (datable ca. 1472): 'questo Gyrardo non era religioso ne aveva habito alcuno massistava purcosi come stanno lialtrij prudhuominj che anno la custodia dellj ospitalj perle ciptadj.'

¹⁷ WT 7.23, 47–57, p. 375.

¹⁸ See n. 5 above.

connections had been abandoned.¹⁹ As the Amalfitans lost their preponderance among Jerusalem's Latins and the Roman Church replaced the Orthodox Greeks in control of the Holy Sepulchre, the pilgrim hospital became associated with that shrine. St Mary of the Latins remained a Benedictine house following the *consuetudo* of Montecassino, and was confirmed as such by the pope in 1112,²⁰ but the Hospitallers' more worldly charitable activities were closer in spirit to the Augustinian ideals of the canons than to the monks' enclosed and more liturgical regime. The Benedictine monopoly of religious life was crumbling throughout the West. Furthermore, after 1099 the Hospitaller brethren became more French than Italian and may for that reason have moved closer to the canons, among whom there were probably fewer Italians.²¹ Following the conquest, the Holy Sepulchre and the managers of the hospice were presumably concerned to keep from St Mary of the Latins the new flow of wealth which was intended for the hospital, even if some of it was nominally granted to the Holy Sepulchre.

Immediate encouragement came from the first Latin ruler, Godfrey, who made donations directly to the Hospital before his death in July 1100²² but, as the papal privilege of 1113 recognized, it was Gerard who 'constituted' the *xenodochium* of which he was the *institutor*.²³ Gerard evidently transformed the hospice, which presumably remained on the same site, into a flourishing institution. After 1099 Jerusalem was in so serious a state of ruin, depopulation and abandonment that much repair work and rebuilding was necessary, and there were many Latins who were impoverished or debilitated by their experiences in reaching the holy city or who were simply unable to find lodgings there.²⁴ Gerard very probably extended the existing hospice buildings to meet this influx.²⁵ In his time the Hospital may also have begun to accommodate women. Agnes, the noble *romana* who was abbess of St Mary Magdalene, lived on after the conquest,²⁶ but there was no sign

¹⁹ *The Hospitallers' 'Riwle'*, lines 1-454, pp. 1-14.

²⁰ Text in Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande* (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 114-116.

²¹ It seems impossible to identify the earliest canons.

²² *Cart Hosp*, no. 1.

²³ Text in Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1972-84), 2:195-198; further detail in idem, 'Feierliche Privilegien mit divergierenden Kardinalslisten? Zur Diplomatik der Papsturkunden des 12. Jahrhunderts,' *Archiv für Diplomatik* 33 (1987).

²⁴ Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 85-92; Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom,' *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994), 695-713.

²⁵ Major enlargements, presumably including a large 'conventual' church to replace the ancient Byzantine church, probably came in the late 1130s and 1140s: Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 278, 557 n. 103.

²⁶ WT 18.5,76-80, p. 817.

that her convent continued to maintain any hospital after 1099.²⁷ The Hospitallers were caring for both men and women by the 1170s at the very latest.²⁸

As part of a Benedictine community situated next to the Holy Sepulchre, the hospice would not have needed its own church before 1099. William of Tyre wrote of its *oratorium modicum* or *altare*, presumably a chapel within the hospice, and he twice claimed that it had been dedicated to St John the Almoner, who would have been a suitable patron.²⁹ Once the hospital had become largely autonomous, it presumably required its own church. In or soon after July 1099 various properties of the Greek patriarch were assigned to the new Latin patriarch Arnulf of Chocques, and Arnulf's successor Daimbert took over many possessions from the Greeks in December 1099.³⁰ It was perhaps then that the Hospitallers acquired the Byzantine church of St John the Baptist just south of their hospital. In 1102–03 the pilgrim Saewulf wrote of the hospital where there was a *monasterium*, which presumably included both hospital and church, dedicated to the Baptist.³¹ The papal privilege of 1113 described the Hospital's *xenodochium* as *iuxta* or near to the church of St John the Baptist without saying to whom that church belonged, though the Baptist had probably become the Hospital's patron by 1102–03.³² It is uncertain what priests conducted services and confessions for the brethren,³³ though the canons attached to the nearby Holy Sepulchre could well have performed these functions.

The pious Gerard was an effective leader and from 1099 onwards donations in both East and West increasingly reflected public appreciation of the Hospital's welfare activities. Contemporary witnesses and donation charters referred to the poor more frequently than to the pilgrims and the sick. Indeed the Hospitallers' own emphasis on concern for the needy for their own sake rather than as a means of salvation for those performing good works was truly innovative.³⁴ As the Hospital was detached first from its connections with St Mary of the Latins and then from those with the Holy Sepulchre its status must have evolved.

²⁷ Saewulf, lines 266–267, in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf — John of Würzburg — Theodoricus*, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1994), p. 67, reported in 1102–03 that it was called 'Small' (*Parva*) and served the Virgin. In 1171 Theodoricus (lines 483–485, *ibid.*, p. 158), gave *beata Maria* as its dedication. See also Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers*, pp. 30–31.

²⁸ Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 332–333.

²⁹ WT 1.10, 24, 18.5, 56–57, pp. 123, 816; no earlier writer mentioned John the Almoner.

³⁰ WT 9.15, 13–17, 10.4, 9–32, pp. 440, 456–457.

³¹ Saewulf, lines 267–269, p. 67: 'Iuxta quam est hospitale, ubi monasterium habetur preclarum in honore sancti Iohannis Baptistae dedicatum.'

³² Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' pp. 43–48.

³³ Certain brethren in the West were described as *presbiter* in 1110 and in about 1123, and in 1126 there were a *presbiter* and a *cancellarius* in Jerusalem: *Cart Hosp*, nos. 19, 65, 77. The Order's Rule, datable before 1153 but probably earlier, referred to *fratres sacerdotes*: *ibid.*, no. 70, §14. By 1130 the Templars had priests *ad terminum* who were not brethren: *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel*, ed. Gustav Schnürer (Freiburg, 1903), §3; the Hospital may have done the same.

³⁴ Gerhard Lagleder, *Die Ordensregel der Johanniter/Maltezer* (St Ottilien, 1983), pp. 76–78.

There may conceivably have been some written regulations by 1120,³⁵ but it remains uncertain what customs were followed.³⁶ The papal privilege of 1113 recognized the brethren as *fratres* and *professi*, which may have meant that they took a vow to serve the poor and pilgrims. This privilege lacked the standard reference to a *vita regularis*, but it ensured the Hospitallers' virtual autonomy by granting them the faculty of electing their master; it also placed them under papal protection, confirmed possessions already granted to them and exempted them from payments of tithes. This privilege did not, however, create a religious order in the later canonical sense.

The Hospital was regarded as an independent entity in charters given in Syria and in the West. Godfrey, the first Latin ruler, granted it the casal called *Hessilia* and two ovens in Jerusalem as early as 1099 or 1100.³⁷ In 1101 Roger of Apulia sent 1000 bezants to be divided between the canons of the Holy Sepulchre for their prayers, the king for his army and the Hospital for its charitable work, and also in 1101 King Baldwin granted to 'the hospital and the poor of Christ' a tenth of all spoil taken from the 'enemy'.³⁸ In 1110 the king confirmed endowments consisting of casals, other lands, houses and serfs in Jerusalem and elsewhere which had been made by more than eighteen donors. In 1112 the king issued a new confirmation and the patriarch of Jerusalem and the archbishop of Caesarea exempted what both king and patriarch called the *hospitale fratrum pauperum* from paying tithes.³⁹ By his death in 1120 Gerard was ruling an institution whose independence had effectively been established. The fundamental papal privilege of 1113 referred to, but did not name, possessions in *Asia* which possibly included a donation in the diocese of Tripoli,⁴⁰ while other grants in Tripoli and Antioch were confirmed to the Hospital in 1118.⁴¹ In 1119 a papal confirmation of the 1113 privilege listed a number of grants made in Tripoli and referred vaguely to acquisitions in Antioch or elsewhere.⁴²

The canons of the Holy Sepulchre did not become regular Augustinians until 1114 when the patriarch compelled them to do so and separated his incomes from theirs.⁴³ Like the rest of the Latin church, the Hospitallers were under the patriarch's jurisdiction and owed him tithes until he exempted them in 1112.⁴⁴

³⁵ A papal text of 1172 spoke of the 'vestigia et statuta bone memorie Giraldis et R[aimundi], quondam magistrorum': *Cart Hosp*, no. 434; but no legislation of Gerard survives.

³⁶ Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' p. 55.

³⁷ *Cart Hosp*, no. 1. Ekkehard of Aura implied the Hospital's separate status by writing of Godfrey's gifts as 'tam monasteriis quam hospitali:' quoted in Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' p. 38.

³⁸ Albert of Aachen 7.62, 70, in *RHC Occ* 4:548, 553.

³⁹ *Cart Hosp*, nos. 20, 25, 28–29.

⁴⁰ *Infra*, pp. 53–54.

⁴¹ *Cart Hosp*, nos. 43, 45; a donation in Antioch (*ibid.*, no. 5) is datable only between 1100 and 1134.

⁴² Text in Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer* 2:199–201.

⁴³ *Cart St Sép*, no. 20.

⁴⁴ *Cart Hosp*, no. 25.

The papal privilege of 1112 to St Mary of the Latins, which emphasized that the monastery had once maintained a hospice in Jerusalem for Italians, was perhaps compensating the monks for their loss of control over the Hospitallers. This privilege may even have constituted a threat to the Hospital's endowments which Gerard then countered by securing the Hospital's privilege of 1113.⁴⁵ These developments, together with another papal privilege of 1113 for the Benedictines of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, redefined the relationships between patriarch, canons, monks and hospice carers. In addition, during the period before 1120, in which year a small group of military men formed the Order of the Temple, the future Templars were apparently living in the Hospital's quarters under some form of obedience to the prior of the Holy Sepulchre; they may well have created their new brotherhood under Hospitaller influence.⁴⁶

Though the incipient Hospital was largely independent, it was to some extent intertwined with the Holy Sepulchre whose pilgrims it cared for. Thus the Hospital's Rule, which is datable only between about 1130 and 1153 but presumably reflected earlier practices, was strongly, though not exclusively, Augustinian,⁴⁷ and its liturgical calendar was that of the Holy Sepulchre.⁴⁸ There were Benedictine elements in the Hospitaller Rule⁴⁹ and some contacts with the monks of St Mary of the Latins remained. For example, on Palm Sundays the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre and those of the *Templum Domini*, the Benedictine monks of St Mary of the Latins and the Hospitallers assembled together near the garden of Gethsemane.⁵⁰ Furthermore, probably shortly after 1120, the monks of the ancient Benedictine house at Subiaco, not so far from the monastery of Montecassino whose *consuetudo* was followed by St Mary of the Latins, were remembering in their prayers *Raimundus prior*, presumably the master Raymond *de Podio*, possibly from Le Puy, twelve other named brethren and all other Hospitallers.⁵¹ However, the Hospitallers' seals showed

⁴⁵ Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' pp. 40–41.

⁴⁶ Ernoul, p. 8, discussed in Anthony Luttrell, 'The Earliest Templars' (forthcoming).

⁴⁷ Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 46–51; Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' pp. 55–56.

⁴⁸ Anne-Marie Legras — Jean-Loup Lemaitre, 'La pratique liturgique des Templiers et Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem,' in *L'écrit dans la société médiévale: Textes en hommage à Lucie Fossier* (Paris, 1991), pp. 93–94.

⁴⁹ Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' p. 56.

⁵⁰ Charles Kohler, 'Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem: XII^e–XIII^e siècle,' *ROL* 8 (1900–01), 412.

⁵¹ The *Liber Vitae* of Subiaco, begun in 1075, contained numerous names of persons for whom the monks would pray. At fol. 115r were names datable to c.1120; at fol. 115v the final entry named 13 Hospitallers, which might suggest a date shortly after 1120: Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, 'Der Liber Vitae von Subiaco — Die Klöster Farfa und Subiaco in ihrer geistigen und politischen Umwelt während der letzten Jahrzehnte des 11. Jahrhunderts,' *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 68 (1968), 126 n. 135. The 13 Hospitaller *fratres*, along with others unnamed, had 'committed themselves' to the monks' prayers: 'Raimundus prior, Raimundus, Helia, Raimondus, Petrus, Milo, Benedictus, Petrus, Gervasius, Jonathas, Rumbertus, Johannes, Petrus et omnes alii fratres Sacri Hospitalis Jerosolimitani committunt se sacris orationibus religiosorum fratrum sanctissimi Benedicti de Sublacu.' Quoted in Annibale Ilari, 'Il Sovrano Militare Ordine

the two-barred cross of the Holy Sepulchre, and the earliest known magistral seal, on an act of 1134, displayed a representation of the Holy Sepulchre.⁵² In just two cases, both in England, the Hospitallers built round Holy Sepulchre type churches at Clerkenwell in London and at Little Maplestead in Essex.⁵³ The Hospital had differences with the patriarch and the Holy Sepulchre over privileges and properties, and these eventually flared up in the 1150s; in fact, the Hospital was not finally exempt from patriarchal and episcopal jurisdiction until 1154.⁵⁴

The western public's perception of the Hospital was clouded by all sorts of local initiatives and developments, as ambiguities in the donation charters make clear.⁵⁵ In 1113 the pope confirmed to it seven western *xenodochia* or hospices at Bari, Otranto, Taranto, Messina, Pisa, Asti and Saint Gilles in Languedoc, which the papal text explicitly declared the Hospitallers already held 'in tua uel successorum tuorum subiectione ac dispositione, sicut hodie sunt.' Yet no Hospitaller hospice is documented at any of these seven places in or before 1113, except just possibly at Saint Gilles where a Hospitaller *xenodochium* was mentioned in a text datable between 1112 and 1121. A Hospitaller church was founded at Messina probably in or just before 1101, but the earliest mention of a Hospitaller hospice there apparently came only in 1135; the Hospital did not receive its hospice at Asti until 1182, and there is no reference to the hospice at Pisa as belonging to the Hospital before the late twelfth century.⁵⁶ If the 1113 privilege listed hospices which either did not exist or did not belong to the

Ospedaliero di San Giovanni Battista di Gerusalemme detto di Rodi detto di Malta: Lineamenti storici,' *Studi Melitensi* 1 (1993), 37 n. 60. Ilari supposes that all the named brethren went to Subiaco, but that seems doubtful. No Gerard was named, but *Raimundus prior* was probably Raymond du Puy who had become master by December 1124. A Syrian charter of 1128 transferred properties in Tripoli 'in manus domini Raimundi, prioris Hospitalis Iherosolimitani.' *Cart Hosp*, no. 82. Subiaco was not far from Montecassino, where Maurus of Amalfi, the founder of the Jerusalem hospice, became a monk in 1071; Mauro gave the bronze doors from Constantinople to Montecassino and an ivory casket to the monks of Farfa: Henry Willard, *Abbot Desiderius and the Ties between Montecassino and Amalfi in the Eleventh Century*, *Miscellanea Cassinese* 37 (Montecassino, 1973); Herbert Bloch, *Montecassino in the Middle Ages* 1 (Rome, 1986), pp. 155–161. Requests for prayer were not uncommon; in about 1120 the patriarch and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre sought prayers from the archbishop of Compostela: Jean Richard, 'Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'Église latine de Jérusalem,' in *Recueil Clovis Brunel* 2 (Paris, 1955), pp. 426–430 = *idem, Orient et Occident au moyen âge: contacts et relations (XII^e–XV^e s.)* (London, 1976), no. 7.

⁵² Gustave Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1943), pp. 232–243 and plates XI 8, 11–12, XII 1–8.

⁵³ Michael Gervers, 'Rotundae Anglicanae,' in *Actes du XXII^e Congrès International d'Histoire d'Art* (Budapest, 1972), pp. 363–364.

⁵⁴ Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 376–378, 399–401; Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' pp. 60–64; Hans E. Mayer, 'Zur Geschichte der Johanniter im 12. Jahrhundert,' *DA* 47 (1991), 150–159.

⁵⁵ The Hospital's earliest Western documents, which present numerous intractable problems of dating and authenticity, have received much less study than those from the East.

⁵⁶ *Infra*, p. 51, n. 92; the reference to a Hospitaller property in London in 1100 circa should be redated to 1145 circa: *Cart Hosp*, 4:311.

Hospital, or which had been planned but had not come into being, it failed to mention properties which had by then been granted to the Hospital in southern France and Catalonia, even if it is probable that none of them had a hospice.⁵⁷ The 1119 papal confirmation of the 1113 privilege failed to include the important church of Saint Rémezy at Toulouse transferred to the Hospitallers apparently between 1114 and 1116,⁵⁸ but it did add seven places where the Hospital held entire settlements, the 'villas de Castelone, beati Christofori, Podii Cipriani, de Fontibus Orbis, Bergolli, Pontis Monasterioli et villam Dei.' This privilege of 1119 was issued at Saint Gilles in Languedoc, the region in which at least three, and probably all seven, of these places were situated.⁵⁹ At Puyssubran or *Podio Superiano*, the modern Pexiora some 60 kilometres south-east of Toulouse, a group of donations was made before 1106, some perhaps as early as 1101;⁶⁰ Fonsorbes or *de Fontibus Orbis* which lay 19 kilometres south-west of Toulouse, had probably been received before about 1110;⁶¹ and *beati Christofori* was quite possibly Saint Christol between Montpellier and Saint Gilles.⁶²

Neither the privilege of 1113 nor that of 1119 mentioned another early group of multiple donations in the area around Gap where 63 acts were later recorded on a single roll; only two of them, for 1111 and 1112, were dated, but many others were made before about 1122.⁶³ The church of St Martin just outside Gap was given to the Hospitallers free of any *census* by Bishop Isouard of Gap, who died

⁵⁷ Eg., probably *ibid.*, nos. 3, 4 (the Gap rouleau discussed below), 6, 10, 12–17, 23, 26–27; other texts which lacked clear dates (eg., parts of *ibid.*, no. 62) may also have been earlier than 1113. Early but undated acts from Arles, a few perhaps earlier than 1113, are in Paul- A. Amargier, *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille* (Aix, 1972), nos. 2–4, 181–182, 257, 260–277, 288; further materials in H. Blaqui re, 'Les Hospitaliers en Albigeois   l' poque de la Croisade: la commanderie de R ssac,' in *Paix de Dieu et Guerre Sainte en Languedoc au XIII  s cle* = *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 4 (1969). For five donations in Catalonia datable before 1113, see Garc a Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, 1:35–36.

⁵⁸ *Cart Hosp.*, no. 35.

⁵⁹ Text in Hiestand, *Papsturkunden f r Templer* 2:199–201, without identifying places; *Cart Hosp.*, no. 48, failed to include these names.

⁶⁰ *Cart Hosp.*, no. 6.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, No. 3.

⁶² Saint Christol is not otherwise documented before 1149: L on Nourrit, *Mil ans d'histoire en Bas-Languedoc: Saint- Christol (H rault) ancienne commanderie de l'Ordre Souverain, Militaire et Hospitalier de Saint-Jean-de-J rusalem, de Rhodes et de Malte* (B ziers, 1987), p. 38. The three places were kindly identified through the expertise of Anne-Marie Legras, but further study is evidently required. *Castelone* and *Villa Dei*, often indicating a new town, are too common as toponyms for simple identification. *Villa Dei* was presumably not La Villedieu just west of Montauban since that was a Templar house. *Bergolli* is probably not Burgaud north-west of Toulouse, since the nearby churches of Sainte Marie Maurent and Sainte Marie Folcarde were granted to the Hospital only in 1123: *Cart Hosp.*, no. 69.

⁶³ Partial text *ibid.*, nos. 4, 23, 27; full text in Paul Guillaume, 'Origine des Chevaliers de Malte et de la Commanderie de Saint-Martin de Gap,' *Bulletin d'histoire eccl siastique et d'arch ologie religieuse des dioc ses de Valence, Gap, Grenoble et Viviers* 1 (1880–81), 157–159, 177–189. Some of Guillaume's early dates are rectified in Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *M langes sur l'Ordre de Saint Jean de J rusalem* (Paris, 1910), item 6.

in 1105 or 1106.⁶⁴ A key figure was Pierre d'Abon, a local lord who mortgaged his lands to the Hospitallers at Gap when departing for Jerusalem; on his return he was received as a Hospitaller by the brethren at Gap and, between 1105 and 1111, he gave his *honor* to the Hospital in Jerusalem, to *Geraldus senadoxius* who was probably the founder, and to the other brethren of the Hospital.⁶⁵ Another donation not mentioned in 1119 was that of the church at Arles granted by the archbishop there between 1115 and 1126.⁶⁶

Of the seven places alleged in 1113 to possess Hospitaller *xenodochia*, Pisa, Asti and Saint Gilles were each visited twice by Urban II during his journey of 1095–96 to and from the Council at Clermont, where the First Crusade was launched. Furthermore, Urban was at the council held in 1098 at Bari, which was relatively close to Taranto and Otranto though not to Messina; Gap too was on the pope's 1095–96 itinerary, while Puysubran, Fonsorbes and what was probably Saint Christol, all mentioned in 1119, were on or close to it.⁶⁷ Urban could in 1095 scarcely have foreseen in detail the unfolding of the crusade to Jerusalem and the development of the hospital there, but he may have influenced people along his way to found hospices on the major routes to the Holy Sepulchre. The pope was accompanied to France in 1095–96 by Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, whom Urban later sent to the East where he became patriarch of Jerusalem late in 1099. Daimbert, briefly predominant in Jerusalem, took control of the Greeks' churches and he could have transferred the church of St John to the Hospital. Daimbert may, therefore, have had some part in detaching the brethren of the Jerusalem hospice, who were within his jurisdiction, from St Mary of the Latins; Albert of Aachen did imply that Daimbert took control of the hospice, acting as *custos elemosynarum fidelium*.⁶⁸ While in France in 1095 Pope Urban may have been

⁶⁴ Joseph-Hyacinthe Albanès, *Gallia Christiana novissima* 1 (Montbéliard, 1895), pp. 474–475.

⁶⁵ *Cart Hosp*, nos. 4 (§§9–10, 18), 23.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 42, redated in Amargier, *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, no. 257.

⁶⁷ Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II.: 1088–1099* 2 (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 435, 437, 454–455.

⁶⁸ Albert of Aachen 6.39, in RHC Occ 4:489, seems more convincing than WT 18.6.2, p. 817, who wrote, but much later, that the Hospitallers withdrew (*se subtraxerunt*) from the Benedictines' jurisdiction. Matzke argues in detail that the coincidence of the seven hospices along the routes to Jerusalem, taken with other factors such as the coins struck for a crusade army, indicates advance planning for a crusade infrastructure; Daimbert would have intervened in Messina, Taranto and Otranto and have restructured the hospital in Jerusalem where he was predominant between December 1099 and about March 1100, while Raymond of Saint Gilles founded hospices in Saint Gilles and outside Tripoli. Daimbert was with Urban at Pisa and he and Raymond were with Urban at Saint Gilles, Toulouse and elsewhere during 1094–95 (Becker, *Papst Urban II.* 2:437, 451, 453–454). Daimbert was possibly at Bari with Urban in 1098 but no text shows him at Messina or in Apulia in 1098 or 1099; nor is Raymond documented as founding a hospital at Saint Gilles. Matzke's theory that Urban and Daimbert deliberately transformed a monastic pilgrim hospice in Jerusalem into an international organization with a network of hospices in the West, though not implausible, remains hypothetical. Urban could have inspired foundations of hospices and Daimbert could have founded a hospice at Pisa and have imposed changes on the Jerusalem hospital; it need not follow that long-term plans were drawn up in 1095.

concerned with the emergent hospitaller brethren of St Anthony of Viennois,⁶⁹ and he might also have inspired other early donations to the Hospital such as those around Gap and near Toulouse. Whether or not they were recent foundations made with papal encouragement, and whether or not they were dedicated or offered to the Holy Sepulchre, there may by 1113 have been hospices which were in the hands of local groups but which the Hospital was manoeuvring to acquire through the activities of its agents on the spot and by exploiting papal support and the prestige of its own achievement in Jerusalem.

In the East the Hospital was seen as an independent or quasi-autonomous institution but people in the West, including some who had been in Jerusalem, did not always distinguish with clarity between the Holy Sepulchre and the adjacent hospice. That allowed the Hospitallers to gain control of endowments which had been established under ambiguous terms; they could create local institutions which were seen to be effective and they might persuade bishops or other bodies to make changes in their favour. There had long been independent hospices in the West, especially along pilgrim routes; some of these were dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre and some may have been absorbed into or become associated with the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The canons of the Holy Sepulchre did acquire western properties and by 1128 these were particularly numerous in northern Spain, yet no western hospice or hospital is documented as indisputably belonging to them before 1122.⁷⁰ The canons did not depend on the West for manpower and incomes in the same way as did the Hospitallers, and they were initially content to control their western possessions rather loosely.⁷¹ There were cases in which the Hospitallers were able to take over foundations which had nominally been given to the Holy Sepulchre, and on occasion they tampered with the documents. For example, an early donation was given, according to the copy in the cartulary from Arles, to 'S. Sepulcro,'⁷² but a later summary of donations stated that it was made to 'S. Johannis atque ospitalerio domui Jherosolimitana.'⁷³ Such interference with charters may well have been a common Hospitaller practice.

Before 1113 those making donations in southern France and elsewhere addressed their gifts to God, to the Holy Sepulchre, to St John, to the Hospital in Jerusalem, to the poor, to the brethren of the Hospital or often to various

⁶⁹ Hippolyte Dijon, *L'église abbatiale de Saint-Antoine en Dauphiné: histoire et archéologie* (Grenoble, 1902), p. 18; A. Mischlewski, *Un ordre hospitalier au moyen âge: les chanoines réguliers de Saint-Antoine-en-Viennois*, trans. H. and D. Kuhn (Grenoble, 1995), p. 14; R. Somerville, *Papacy, Councils and Canon Law in the 11th–12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1990), no. 7, p. 89.

⁷⁰ G. Bresc-Bautier, 'Dévotion au Saint-Sépulchre et histoire hospitalière (X^e–XIV^e siècles),' in *Actes du 97^e Congrès des Sociétés savantes: philologie et histoire* (Nantes, 1972), pp. 255, 265–267 et passim; the loss of the first quire of the Holy Sepulchre's cartulary, possibly with early acts, makes the evidence more difficult to assess.

⁷¹ Richard, 'Quelques textes,' pp. 426–430.

⁷² Amargier, *Cartulaire de Trinquetteille*, no. 263.

⁷³ *Cart Hosp.*, no. 4, §19.

combinations of such recipients.⁷⁴ Thus, perhaps between 1099 and about 1110, Count Sanche of Astarac, his son Bernard and others made donations at Fonsorbes to 'Deo et S. Sepulcro et Hospitali Iherusalem et habitantibus ibi.' The count had granted Fonsorbes to Forton de Hautefaie who, while in Jerusalem, presented it to the Hospital's ruler, Gerard. Doubtful of the advantages of accepting this offer, Gerard sent Forton to *dompnus* Durand, evidently a leading Hospitaller, at Saint Gilles; Durand, reluctant to expend incomes from alms on so large an estate, arranged that Forton should hold the land and owe a *census* which Forton promised to pay to God and the Holy Sepulchre as *elemosina* or alms for the poor. Arnaud de Astarac and some nine others also made donations to 'God and the Holy Sepulchre.'⁷⁵ This text from Fonsorbes suggests that no clear distinction was being made between the Holy Sepulchre and the Hospital, but that did not prevent the Hospitallers securing the endowments and retaining their donation charters. The formal autonomy which the Hospital achieved in 1113 and the creation of a regular Order of the Holy Sepulchre in 1114 did not end these ambiguous endowments which continued thereafter.⁷⁶ Some donors gave specifically to the poor, the pilgrims and the hospital, while others evidently considered the Hospitallers as a branch of the Holy Sepulchre. For many in the West the phrase 'God and the Holy Sepulchre' was understood as a formula meaning Jerusalem and its Latin clergy, including the Hospitallers.

A very early and major endowment at Puysubran made between 1100 and 1105 by more than 30 donors stated that their gifts were for the *pauperes Christi* in Jerusalem and for the remission of the sins of the donors and their families. These donations were accepted by the bishop of Toulouse and by Johannes Bonioli *prior Jerosolimitanus*, who may have represented the Holy Sepulchre, or the Hospital or indeed both. These gifts were said to be for the Holy Sepulchre to support the 'pilgrim brethren' in Jerusalem: 'ad Sepulchrum domini nostri Jhesu Christi, vel ad dispendium peregrinorum fratrum qui odie sunt in Jerusalem vel in antea erunt.' Supplementary gifts were made for God, the Holy Sepulchre and its *clerici*, and for the provision of food and clothing to those *clerici*. The bishop, acting with Count Bertrand of Toulouse, confirmed the donations and ordered his clergy to serve God and to obey the Jerusalem hospice and those serving in it. An unnamed *elemosinarius S. Sepulcri* then committed the donation to Pierre Raymond and Raymond Pons who were to create a *monasterium* of unspecified character, perhaps an early form of Hospitaller commandery. Notes on the dorso of the act summarized further donations made to 'Deo et S. Sepulcro' or, in one case, to 'Deo et Hospitali;' some of the notes again showed Pierre Raymond and Raymond Pons administering various goods, in one case 'ad opus S. Sepulcri.'

⁷⁴ Ambiguous or multiple donations, many in *ibid.*, nos. 3–29 *passim*, though frequently noted (eg. in Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' pp. 47–48) await extended analysis; that some donations were made before 1099 cannot be disproved.

⁷⁵ *Cart Hosp.*, no. 3. Forton de Hautefaie may, ambiguously, have held his *honor* at *census* from the Hospital while himself a Hospitaller: *ibid.*, nos. 3, 62.

⁷⁶ Eg., *ibid.*, nos. 26, 42, 50–51, 62–63, 76 *et passim*.

Enclosed in this document was a curious informal text in the names of Pope Paschal II, the Patriarch Daimbert, Gerard *servus Ospitali Sancte Jherusalem* who was evidently the founder, and their two envoys, one unnamed and the other also called Gerard. The bishop read this form of 'indulgence' which promised remission of sins to those assisting the administrator Pierre Raymond. In this case representatives of the Holy Sepulchre were apparently acting on behalf of the Hospital as though a single institution were involved. Whatever the status of the *prior*, the *elemosinarius* and the two procurators, Puysubran later became a Hospitaller commandery in which these early documents were preserved.⁷⁷

The Hospital's Western estates and organization evolved rapidly after 1099, particularly in southern France where the leading personality was the other Gerard who was apparently a deacon and was often described as *hospitalarius*; in 1121 he was *prior* in a region which included Toulouse.⁷⁸ Aicelin, who was *magister domus Hospitalis* in the area of Albi in 1108–10, seems to have been the founder Gerard's envoy from Jerusalem to the pope at Benevento and to others in the West early in 1113, and he was perhaps the Aicelin who was later in southern France.⁷⁹ In 1108–09 a *magister domus Hospitalis*, two *hospitalarii* and other brethren were resident in a *domus* at Béziers.⁸⁰ In Catalonia between about 1109 and 1113 there were already *servi Hospitalis* who were priests and an *helemosinarius*; at Cervera there were *confratres* who were associated with the Order but were not professed brethren.⁸¹ Following donations from the queen of Castile in 1113, there were at least twelve other grants in Castile by 1123. These involved in particular the Hospitaller Pelayo Arulfiz, who was sent on a mission to Spain early in 1113, who was active as *receptor* by 1115 and who in 1121 reached Salamanca carrying papal letters and seeking alms as a legate of the Jerusalem hospital.⁸² These brethren were mostly obscure men, though Pierre d'Abon had held an *honor* in the region of Gap as had Forton de Hautefaie near Toulouse.⁸³

⁷⁷ Ibid., no. 6.

⁷⁸ Ibid., no. 56; it is often impossible to distinguish this Gerard from the founder in the East, while there was possibly more than one Hospitaller Gerard in the West. In 1114–16 the other Gerard was *hospitalarius et diaconus*: John Mundy, 'Charity and Social Work in Toulouse: 1100–1250,' *Traditio* 22 (1966), 283.

⁷⁹ Ibid., nos. 12–14, 42; Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer* 1:203 (as *Arcelanus*).

⁸⁰ *Cart Hosp*, no. 17.

⁸¹ Ibid., nos. 16, 19, 21–22, 32.

⁸² *Libro de privilegios de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Castilla y Léon (siglos XII–XV)*, ed. Carlos de Ayala Martínez et al. (Madrid, 1995), nos. 1–9, 11–15; the *Palaicus* of 1113 (*Cart Hosp*, no. 31) was presumably Pelayo Arulfiz (Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer* 1:424).

⁸³ *Cart Hosp*, nos. 3, 4 §10. The Hospitaller *Petrus Barconie* was mentioned at Arles in a text datable 1118–26 (ibid., no. 42), was in Syria in December 1119 (ibid., no. 53; wrongly dated 1120) and appeared ambiguously in 1121 (ibid., no. 56). Evidently a different person was the noble *Petrus Barchinonensis*, a canon of the Holy Sepulchre by April/August 1120, later its prior and, from 1151, archbishop of Tyre: *Cart St Sép*, nos. 22, 27, 38, 97, 102, app. 1; WT 16.17,44–47, p. 739.

A remarkable Hospitaller achievement was the creation in the county of Comminges between 1099 and 1120 of some 40 *sauvetés* or villages in a sustained programme of forest clearing and settlement which brought profit to the Order. Gerard *hospitalarius* was named in many of the donations, including one as early as April 1102, and he may have directed the operation. Here too grants addressed to the Holy Sepulchre actually went to the Hospital; one, probably made in December 1103, was received by Gerard, Forton de Hautefaie, Raymond *de Clauso*, Bertran and other Hospitaliers.⁸⁴ Saint Gilles, strategically placed in the lower Rhône valley, was to become the centre of the Order's western administration.⁸⁵ *Dompnus* Durand was there, perhaps before about 1110, but at that time he lacked the machinery to administer the large donation at Fonsorbes.⁸⁶ By some point between 1112 and 1121 there was a Hospitaller *xenodochium* at Saint Gilles; in 1121 Gerard *ospitalarius*, also termed *prior*, and Pons *prior* of Saint Gilles were acting with various other *fratres*; and by 1123 the *fratres hospitalis in partibus S. Egidii* were holding an annual chapter at Pentecost.⁸⁷

Count Roger of Sicily, who died in 1101 but had by then sent a financial donation to the Jerusalem hospital, was later said, conceivably correctly, to have built for the Hospital a church of Saint John in Messina and there was a Hospitaller *domus* with a hospice for the poor and sick outside the walls and by the sea there in 1135.⁸⁸ There was no sign of any organized activity at Bari, at

⁸⁴ *Cart Hosp*, no. 62, reedited, with much detail and some fixed dates, in Paul Ourliac, *Les sauvetés du Comminges: Études et documents sur les villages fondés par les Hospitaliers dans la région des côtes commingeois* (Toulouse, 1947), no. 3, redates *Cart Hosp*, no. 26, to 27 April 1102; no. 10 probably dates to December 1103; no. 17 dates to or before 1105.

⁸⁵ Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 353.

⁸⁶ *Cart Hosp*, no. 3.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, nos. 24, 54–56, 69. The hospice at Saint Gilles existed in 1121: Amargier, *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, no. 277. Brethren resident at Arles or Saint Gilles before about 1123 included Gerard *hospitalarius*, Pons *prior S. Egidii*, Pierre *prior*, Pierre de Andusia, Odo *presbyter*, Calvitus *capellanus*, Petrus Barchinonensis, Guillaume *decanus*, Aicelin, Étienne Raymond, Pons de Montlaur, Pierre Bremond, Pierre de Cander, Sicard and three other Gerards: texts, mostly undated, *ibid.*, nos. 2–4, 257–258, 264, 268–278; *Cart Hosp*, no. 54. There is no attempt here to list all known brethren. Details and dates sometimes proposed (eg. in Sire, *Knights*, pp. 115–117) vary from those given here. There was no sign of any 'priory' and the primitive terminology should be interpreted with care; the *hospitalarius* seems originally to have been more important than the local *prior*. The founder Gerard died in 1120, quite possibly on 3 September, and several sources indicate that Raymond *de Podio* was his immediate successor and properly elected: Hiestand, 'Anfänge,' pp. 54–55. Giacomo Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et ill.ma Militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano* 1 (Rome, 1594), p. 12, knew a donation to a master Roger from a Count Atto of Abbruzzo who had a brother Trasmundo. The last known Count Atto, who apparently did have a brother Trasmundo, is not documented after 1122: Francesco Savini, *La contea di Apruzio e i suoi conti* (Rome, 1905), pp. 105–133; Hermann Müller, *Topographische und genealogische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Herzogtums Spoleto und der Sabina von 800 bis 1100* (Greifswald, 1930), pp. 90–92. Raymond is not securely documented as master before December 1124 (*Cart Hosp*, no. 46) and an apparently garbled copy of a text of 1121 (*ibid.*, no. 56) might refer to a Rogerius who was Gerard's immediate successor, as held by Beltjens, *Aux origines*, pp. 241–278.

⁸⁸ The text of 1135 in *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, ser. 1, vol. 2–1: *Rogarii II. regis Diplomata latina*, ed. Carlrichard Brühl (Cologne, 1987), pp. 114–115, is a forgery, but *idem*,

Otranto⁸⁹ or elsewhere in Italy until 1119, when a grant in Apulia was received by a *frater* Hugo.⁹⁰ At Asti there was a round Holy Sepulchre type church dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre in the *borgo* on the main pilgrim route across Lombardy. It may have been founded in connection with Urban II's visits to Asti in 1094 and 1095 or perhaps when Landolfo di Variglate returned from Jerusalem and became bishop of Asti in 1103; the church's style suggests that it was actually built a little later. This church was granted to the Hospital by the bishop as late as 1169, its dedication subsequently being changed, and the hospice abutting it was given to the Hospital by the bishop and others only in and after 1182. The Order seems not to have held a hospice at Asti in 1113.⁹¹

The Hospital acquired other churches originally dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre. At Pisa, also mentioned as having a *xenodochium* in 1113, the round church dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre near the river is not documented as belonging to the Hospital before 1181,⁹² while the important church and hospice of the Holy Sepulchre at Verona passed to the Hospital as late as about 1178.⁹³ At Genoa there was a church dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre by 1143 and a *hospitalis Sancti Sepulcri* in 1160; a Hospitaller hospice, in existence by 1151, and another hospice dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre apparently stood side by side, with the latter hospice passing to the Hospital and changing its dedication to Saint John only after 1160 and the Hospitaller church dedicated to Saint John being founded only in 1180.⁹⁴ Churches dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre in the West did not necessarily belong to the canons in Jerusalem, while many which they did possess never passed to the Hospitallers. The *magnum hospitale Ierusalem* at

Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II. von Sizilien (Cologne, 1978), pp. 136–142, argues that its content is partly acceptable.

⁸⁹ E. Wiest, 'Die Anfänge der Johanniter im Königreich Sizilien bis 1220,' in *Von Schwaben bis Jerusalem*, ed. Sönke Lorenz – Ulrich Schmidt (Sigmaringen, 1995), pp. 167–174.

⁹⁰ *Cart Hosp*, no. 49; Hugo was entitled *preceptor* but the language of this text seems suspect.

⁹¹ Silvana Casartelli Novelli, 'La Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro di Asti,' *Arte Lombarda* 10, supplemento = *Studi in onore di Giusta Niccola Fasola* (1965), with a complicated architectural discussion but retaining the notion of a Hospitaller presence in Asti in 1113; see also Elisabeth Meyer, *Die Funktion von Hospitälern in städtischen Kommunen Piemonts (11.–13. Jahrhundert)* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1992), pp. 34–41, and Carlo Tosco, 'Architetture dei Templari in Piemonte,' in *Atti del Convegno: I Templari in Piemonte — dalla storia al mito* (Turin, 1994), pp. 57–58, 65–67. The notion that the seven hospices really existed in 1113 is extensively embedded in much of the Hospital's historiography both general and particular.

⁹² Gabriele Zaccagnini, *Ubaldesca, una Santa laica nella Pisa dei secoli XII–XIII* (Pisa, 1995), pp. 110–117, 124–126, showing also that the Holy Sepulchre hospice was attested in 1123–32 and the Holy Sepulchre church in 1138; cf. Maria Antonietta Zohar – Adriano Zanelli, *Chiesa di San Sepolcro in Pisa: relazione sui lavori di restauro — gennaio 1974* (Pisa, 1974).

⁹³ Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitaller Priory of Venice in 1331,' in *Militia Sacra: gli Ordini Militari tra Europa e Terrasanta*, ed. Enzo Coli et al. (Perugia, 1994), p. 129.

⁹⁴ Excavation, epigraphic and archive materials in *La Commenda di Prè; un ospedale genovese del medioevo*, ed. Giorgio Rossini (Rome, 1992), pp. 20–23 et passim.

Bari in 1187 may have been independent⁹⁵ or have been attached to the church which the Holy Sepulchre held there by 1139.⁹⁶ The situation in northern Europe was very obscure. There was apparently a Hospitaller mission to seek alms in Germany in about 1124.⁹⁷ The seven *Jerosolimitani* at Utrecht in 1122⁹⁸ may have been pilgrims or have been connected to the Holy Sepulchre; the earliest reference to Hospitallers there is of 1253.⁹⁹ The hospital of the Holy Sepulchre at Duisburg in Germany, where the Hospitallers held a church by 1156, was not given to them until 1189.¹⁰⁰ A special, somewhat late case of the Hospitallers extending their claims came in 1143 when the pope granted them jurisdiction over the German hospital and church of St Mary in Jerusalem and over the 'fratres Hospitalis Jerosolimitani per Alamaniam constituti,' and also gave them any lands in *Alamania* which had been donated in any way to a hospital in Jerusalem; the pope mentioned serious disputes, probably resulting from German quarrels with the Roman Church, over donations in Germany which had been made 'ad opus peregrinorum Jerosolimis.'¹⁰¹ Despite this allusion to the *fratres* there, no donation made explicitly to the Hospital is known in German lands before 1143,¹⁰² and probably the Hospitallers were competing with the German hospice to secure properties which had not been granted specifically or explicitly to the main Jerusalem hospital.¹⁰³

* * *

Following the conquest of Jerusalem a movement which was Augustinian in inspiration attracted a number of Latin laymen, some of them possibly *confratres* or lay tertiaries. In addition to those who were temporarily attached to the Holy Sepulchre or were visiting it as pilgrims, there were three more formal and technically religious institutions representing liturgical, charitable and military aspects of an Augustinian consortium.¹⁰⁴ Of these, the Hospital was detached from the Benedictines in or very soon after 1099 and was formally distanced from the Holy Sepulchre through its papal privilege of 1113; the canons of the Holy Sepulchre became a regular order in 1114; and the military component moved

⁹⁵ Francesco Tommasi, 'Fonti epigrafiche dalla *Domus Templi* di Barletta,' in *Militia Sacra*, ed. Coli et al., p. 170 and n. 26.

⁹⁶ *Cart St Sép*, no. 9.

⁹⁷ *Cart Hosp*, no. 47; Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer* 1:424.

⁹⁸ Joanna-Maria van Winter, 'Les Seigneurs de Sainte-Catherine à Utrecht' (forthcoming).

⁹⁹ *Cart Hosp*, no. 2649.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, nos. 204, 875.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, nos. 154–155.

¹⁰² Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitaller Province of *Alamania* to 1428,' in *Ritterorden und Region — politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter*, ed. Zenon Novak (Torun, 1995), pp. 23, 37 n. 12.

¹⁰³ Marie-Louise Favreau-Lilie, 'Alle origini dell'Ordine Teutonico: continuità o nuova fondazione dell'ospedale gerosolimitano degli Alemanni?' in *Militia Sacra*, ed. Coli et al., pp. 29–30, 38–39.

¹⁰⁴ Kaspar Elm, 'Kanoniker und Ritter vom Heiligen Grab,' in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, ed. Fleckenstein – Hellmann, pp. 166–167.

away from their obedience to the prior of the Holy Sepulchre, and also from their apparent residence in the Hospital, to found the Order of the Temple in 1120.¹⁰⁵ All three emerged in Jerusalem in association with the Holy Sepulchre.

Appendix: The Earliest Hospitallers in Tripoli

In 1103 Count Raymond of Saint Gilles granted to St Mary of the Latins in Jerusalem, without any mention of the Jerusalem Hospital, a property on Mont Pèlerin (*Mons Peregrinus*) close to Tripoli ('quicquid est ab ecclesie loco hospitalis usque ad pontem et usque flumen') and was destined for the construction of a church of St Mary.¹⁰⁶ Another church on Mont Pèlerin was dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre and had a curious octagonal chapel converted from a Muslim *mashhad*;¹⁰⁷ this church was given to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem by Count Raymond between 1103 and February 1105.¹⁰⁸ The Hospital's papal privilege of 1119 confirmed the grant of the church of St John the Baptist on Mont Pèlerin made to it by Bishop Pons of Tripoli, who it said was a successor of Bishop Albert.¹⁰⁹ Albert was alive in November 1110.¹¹⁰ According to the 1119 privilege, Pons acted, in other grants to the Hospital, together with the papal legate Bérenger of Orange, who visited Syria in 1115. Probably therefore the grant of the church was made between 1100 and 1115; it possibly dated before February 1113 since the 1119 privilege stated that it had been confirmed in the 1113 privilege, though in fact the latter referred only very generally to possessions in *Asia*. However, in 1126 Count Pons granted to the Hospitallers the *hospitale pauperum* and the possessions with which it had been endowed by his father Bertrand, count from 1109 to 1112, and by Bertrand's father Raymond, who died in February 1105; the *ecclesia S. Johannis de Hospitale* on Mont Pèlerin, which was apparently consecrated in 1126, has a cemetery.¹¹¹ The church given by Bishop Pons may well have been that granted in Bertrand's time; if so, that bishop's grant was made between 1110 and 1112. The excavations showed two adjacent churches with a

¹⁰⁵ Francesco Tommasi, 'Pauperes commilitones Christi: Aspetti e problemi delle origini gerosolimitane,' in *'Militia Christi' e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII* (Milan, 1992); Anthony Luttrell, 'Templari e Ospitalieri: alcuni confronti' (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁶ Text in Jean Richard, 'Le chartier de Sainte-Marie-Latine et l'établissement de Raymond de Saint-Gilles à Mont-Pèlerin,' in *Mélanges Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), p. 610 = idem, *Orient et Occident*, no. 6; the church was not at that time a Hospitaller one.

¹⁰⁷ Hassan Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution à l'histoire de Tripoli et de sa région à l'époque des croisades: problèmes d'histoire, d'architecture et de céramique* (Paris, 1980), pp. 57-94; many historians ignore this work.

¹⁰⁸ *Cart St Sép*, no. 79.

¹⁰⁹ Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer* 2: 199-201.

¹¹⁰ *Cart St Sép*, no. 86 (as 1112 rather than 1110).

¹¹¹ *Cart Hosp*, nos. 79, 82 (the editor was apparently incorrect in considering that these two texts, the second undated, were confirmations of earlier donations made to the Hospital for the hospice); see also Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution*, pp. 118-119. There was a Hospitaller *Bertrandus frater de Monte Peregrino* by December 1119 (*Cart Hosp*, no. 53: wrongly dated 1120) and a *Bertrannus, prior*

curious connecting passage from which steps went upwards within the thickness of the churches' common wall. The northern church, larger and unfinished, was surrounded by a cemetery. The southern church, interpreted as a funerary chapel, was completed and had a door, side benches and a basin with a conduit for discharging water.¹¹² The excavations found no associated hospital.¹¹³ Possibly one of the two buildings was originally the hospice and the steps led not to a roof¹¹⁴ but to an upper floor to which the hospital ward had been moved.¹¹⁵

Hospitalis Montis Peregrinorum 14 March '1125' (ibid., no. 75), who may have been attached to the Hospitaller church there.

¹¹² Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution*, pp. 40-45, 95-119.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 4.

¹¹⁴ As suggested ibid., p. 107.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Eberhard Grunsky, *Doppelgeschossige Johanniterkirchen und verwandte Bauten* (Düsseldorf, 1970).

King Fulk of Jerusalem and 'the Sultan of Babylon'¹

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The college of St Laud in Angers was founded by Count Geoffrey Martel of Anjou some time before 1060 and was favoured by his successors. It was situated close to the *palatium* of the counts, who used the title of abbot and had the provision of one of its eleven canonries. Its cartulary, put together in the first half of the thirteenth century, was rediscovered in the nineteenth. One of the pieces in it is a memorandum written by the dean, Guy of Athée, concerning some of the rights enjoyed by the counts. Among them is the following:

When a count who has been newly created comes to the church he should be received solemnly in procession by the chapter and clerks of St Laud and furthermore whenever the count — ...or the countess or their children — returns from a long pilgrimage or period away they should be received by the dean or by him who will be superior of the church with gospel book and thurible and holy water, and ... the dean should solemnly hand the count the ivory *tau* which Fulk, king of Jerusalem and count of the Angevins, gave this church. Fulk had it [the *tau*] from the sultan of Babylon when Christ raised him to be king of Jerusalem.

I Guy of Athée, with the whole chapter of the church and the clerks, have received the count of the Angevins often in this way. And King Fulk gave the *tau* to our church for this reason — that we should receive the counts in this way — and he ordered and wished that this should signify that the counts of the Angevins are lords and abbots of the church of St Laud before all other churches.²

In the spring of 1128 emissaries from Jerusalem had reached Angers to offer Count Fulk V of Anjou the hand of King Baldwin II's eldest daughter Melisende. Protracted negotiations followed. The offer was made at the time a crusade was being preached in the West and Fulk took the cross at the end of May. He left with the crusade early in 1129 and married Melisende in Acre in the summer.³ Baldwin died on 21 August 1131 and Fulk and Melisende were crowned in Jerusalem on the following 14 September. Guy of Athée had been replaced as dean of St Laud by the year 1140.⁴ So, assuming the *tau* with Fulk's instructions

¹ I am grateful to Dr Michael Brett of the School of Oriental and African Studies for his assistance with the Arabic source material, for details of the reign of Kutayfat and for his advice on the political situation in Egypt.

² *Cartulaire du chapitre de Saint-Laud d'Angers*, ed. A. Planchenault, Documents historiques sur l'Anjou 4 (Angers, 1903) (hereafter cited as *St Laud d'Angers*), pp. 4–5; and see also pp. vi–xiv.

³ H.E. Mayer, 'The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East,' *DOP* 39 (1985), 139–147 = *idem*, *Kings and Lords*, no. 2.

⁴ *St Laud d'Angers*, p. xxiv.

had reached Angers at the earliest six months after his coronation, we must assign a date between 1132 and 1140 to the St Laud memorandum; it was probably written in the later 1130s, because Guy of Athée had already received the count 'often in this way.'

The memorandum was calendared by Reinhold Röhrich in his *Regesta*,⁵ but I can think of no historian who has discussed it, in spite of its importance as very rare evidence for the visit to Jerusalem of an Egyptian embassy and its significance in the context of Egyptian history. It was not mentioned in an account of Fulk's coronation included in the *Vita* of Guy of Ploërmel, the bishop of Le Mans,⁶ nor was it referred to in the *Chronicle* of the Kingdom of Jerusalem written several decades later by William of Tyre.⁷ Of course, the embassy could have arrived some time after the coronation itself; indeed so quickly were Fulk and Melisende crowned — three weeks after Baldwin's death — that if the embassy had been present at the time of their coronation it must have been intended originally to address Baldwin rather than Fulk.

Contemporary descriptions of Egyptian embassies often refer to the gifts they brought with them. For instance, in the autumn of 1126 an ambassador brought to Damascus 'magnificent robes of honour and costly Egyptian presents' and another in September 1147 brought 'a gift of horses and money.'⁸ The ivory *tau* must have been only one of a number of presents. Some historians have confused it with the famous relic of the True Cross which Fulk also sent to St Laud, but it is clear that the *tau* was a staff and that Fulk intended it to be used in much the same way as a *baculum*, which denoted lordship when presented to a property owner. Ivory *tau* staffs were quite commonly carved in the medieval East and a number of examples of them survive.⁹

When he sent the *tau* to St Laud, the rights he had enjoyed in the West were obviously still on Fulk's mind. A concern for home and for maintaining close links with it and with members of one's kindred was a feature of the early period of settlement in Palestine and Syria. The strength of the emotional bonds which tied people even when 2,000 miles away is illustrated in an account of the sending of a relic of St Stephen to the abbey of Cluny in Burgundy. Gilduin of Le Puiset was a Cluniac monk and prior of Lurcy-le-Bourg before travelling in c.1119 to the East, where his first cousin was King Baldwin II. He and Baldwin were members of a clan spanning several families and sharing descent from Guy I of Montlhéry and Hodierna of Gometz, and particularly from their four daughters who were at the centre of a kindred which generated a large number

⁵ RRH Add no. 139a.

⁶ *Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, ed. G. Busson and A. Ledru (*Archives historiques du Maine* 2 [1901]), pp. 431–432.

⁷ WT 14.2, p. 634.

⁸ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1932), pp. 179, 280.

⁹ A. Maskell, *Ivories* (London, 1905), p. 193. For the relic, see A. Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961), p. 322.

of early crusaders and settlers in the East¹⁰ Indeed by the time Gilduin reached Palestine Montlhéry descendants were coming to dominate the Latin settlements in the Levant. Gilduin was almost immediately elected abbot of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the monastery which enclosed the supposed last resting place of the Blessed Virgin Mary and therefore the site of her Assumption. In 1120 he left Jerusalem with Baldwin for the county of Edessa in the north, which was ruled by another Montlhéry cousin, Joscelin of Courtenay; on their way they were joined by Gilduin's brother Waleran of Le Puiset, who was an important magnate in the county. At Edessa the party met the archbishop, who over a decade earlier — certainly before 1109 — had stopped at Cluny on the way from Flanders to the East and had been made a *confrater* of the community by Abbot Hugh. The archbishop asked Gilduin for the latest news of the Cluniac congregation in Europe. The meeting and the conversation about Cluny and her daughter houses seem to have had a profound emotional effect on him, for they gave rise to a number of vivid dreams — he believed they were visions — in which he was instructed to give the relic to Gilduin for transmission to Cluny.¹¹

In fact the settlers, like the early crusaders, showered their home churches and friends in the West with relics. After Raymond IV of St Gilles's death in Syria in 1105 Bishop Herbert of Tripoli, who had been his chaplain, sent the relics Raymond had carried with him to his own home priory of Chaise-Dieu, to embellish the tomb of St Robert there.¹² In 1108 King Baldwin I of Jerusalem sent a piece of the True Cross and a stone from the Holy Sepulchre to the abbey of Corbie¹³ and Anseau, the cantor of the Holy Sepulchre, sent similar relics to the cathedral of Paris.¹⁴ In 1116 a second canon of the Holy Sepulchre, Adam, sent his home cathedral of Le Mans a cross containing two pieces of the True Cross and stones from the Holy Sepulchre, Calvary, the Mount of Olives, Gethsemane and Gabatha.¹⁵ In 1123 another settler sent relics of SS. Jude and Agar from the treasury of the church of Edessa to Rheims,¹⁶ and in 1128 William of Bures, the lord of Galilee and probably another Montlhéry descendant, on the mission that offered Fulk the hand of Melisende, gave the abbey of St Julien of Tours relics of the cross, together with precious cloth and a standard called the *Transartat*, which must have been well-known at the time, attached to a spear which was inlaid with silver.¹⁷ When king of Jerusalem, Fulk of Anjou himself sent a relic of

¹⁰ See J.S.C. Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade,' in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 101–108.

¹¹ *Tractatus de reliquiis S. Stephani Cluniacum delatis*, in RHC Occ 3:173–320.

¹² *Acta Sanctorum*, April 3:330.

¹³ *Annales Corbeienses*, MGH SS 3:7.

¹⁴ *Cartulaire général de Paris*, vol. 1: 528–1180, ed. R. de Lasteyrie, *Histoire générale de Paris* (Paris, 1887) pp.171–174; G. Bautier, 'L'envoi de la relique de la Vraie Croix à Notre Dame de Paris en 1120,' *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 129 (1971), 387–397.

¹⁵ *Actus pontificum Cenomannis*, p. 407.

¹⁶ G. Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims*, 4 vols. (Reims, 1843–46), 3:699.

¹⁷ *Actus pontificum Cenomannis*, p. 430.

the True Cross to St Laud, as we have seen,¹⁸ and Patriarch William of Jerusalem sent another splinter to St Bernard at Clairvaux in 1135.¹⁹ The reaction of Fulk on receiving the *tau* — to think of a use that might be made of it at home — was predictable and understandable.

By 1131 Fatimid Egypt was visibly weakening. The last major Egyptian expedition by land had approached the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1118, shortly after Baldwin II's accession. A large army, supplied from the sea, had mustered on the southern border, where it was joined by a force from Damascus. The Christians took up position opposite and the two sides faced it out for three months before the Egyptians withdrew.²⁰ An even greater humiliation had to be endured by Egypt six years later. The city of Tyre, the last major port in Muslim hands on the Palestinian coast, acknowledged Fatimid suzerainty, although in 1112 a governor from Damascus had been installed at the citizens' request. Ten years later the Fatimid caliph al-Amir regained direct control by kidnapping the governor, but in 1123 the most effective force still at Egypt's disposal, its galley fleet, was so badly damaged by Venetian ships which had arrived on crusade that when in 1124 the crusaders and the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem laid siege to Tyre, al-Amir had to admit to Damascus that he did not have the means to defend it. Damascus did what it could. During the siege the citizens and Damascus waited in vain for some effective supporting action from Egypt. None came and Tyre fell on 7 July.²¹ The Egyptian government had shown itself to be powerless — perhaps this contributed to the arrest and execution of the wazir in the following year²² — and the loss of Tyre severely reduced the range of operations of its galley fleet, because the ships were now deprived of any place north of Ascalon where they could take on water.²³

In the summer of 1126, now refurbished and its sortie well publicized in advance, the fleet cruised north again, nosing from port to port as far as Beirut, looking without success for weaknesses it could exploit in its search for water. King Baldwin, in an apparently rash move, ignored the news that the Egyptians were about to sail and marched north with part of his army to meet a Muslim threat to the borders of Antioch. The writers of the main narrative sources for the history of the Latin East, Fulcher of Chartres, who was a contemporary, and William of Tyre, felt the need to explain this as the confrontation of the greater of two threats, but it may be that Baldwin did not take the war plans of the Egyptians very seriously, although he must have known that their recapture of one of the

¹⁸ Frolov, *Relique*, p. 332.

¹⁹ Frolov, *Relique*, p. 323.

²⁰ FC 3.2.1–3, pp. 617–619; WT 12.6, pp. 552–553.

²¹ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 128–130, 142, 165–166, 170–172; Ibn al-Athir, RHC Or 1:356–359. For the fall of Tyre, see Runciman, *Crusades* 2:168–171.

²² Ibn al-Athir, RHC Or 1:363–364.

²³ J. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 115–116.

ports in Christian hands would have threatened his lines of communication to the West by sea since, as has recently been shown, a more northern watering place would have increased the galleys' range sufficiently for them to have caused havoc in the crowded sea lanes near Cyprus.²⁴ Perhaps the cruise of the fleet was made more for public consumption than anything else.

Nevertheless, Egyptian troops held on to a beachhead at Ascalon, to which, according to William of Tyre, the Fatimid government sent reinforcements four times a year,²⁵ and from which raids could be launched to ravage Christian territory and threaten traffic on the roads almost as far as Jerusalem: two took place in 1124.²⁶ But no record has survived of any action, or threat of action, by raiders from Ascalon between 1126 and 1132. Our knowledge is sketchy, but the course of events seems to have been as follows. The fall of Tyre in 1124 was followed in the autumn of 1125 by a well-planned descent by Baldwin, using troops he had already assembled to raid the territory of Damascus, on Ascalon, the garrison of which had just been reinforced. During this *razzia* the Egyptian troops were severely mauled.²⁷ This was a preemptive strike, giving Baldwin the freedom to turn again on Damascus in January 1126 without apparently worrying about his southern frontier. All fief-holders and others throughout the kingdom were summoned to the Christian army by an *arrière ban*, and troops from Jaffa, Ramle and Lydda, who might in other circumstances have been expected to hold the line against Ascalon, were specifically mentioned marching north to the muster.²⁸ The king seems to have adopted a similar high risk strategy two years later. Early in April 1128 his army was ravaging the countryside around Ascalon; the crops would have been quite mature by this time and their destruction, and the consequent food shortages, would probably have meant that the garrison at Ascalon had to be temporarily reduced in size.²⁹ This *chevauchée* was followed by another attack on Damascus in 1129 in conjunction with the crusade which had now reached Palestine.³⁰

More light is thrown on the Christian strategy by three charters granted to two religious institutions which seem to have been especially favoured by the Montlhéry descendants in Palestine. One of them was the abbey of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat where, as we have seen, a member of the clan, Gilduin of Le Puiset, was abbot. The other was the Hospital of St John, which from before 1126 had embryonic commanderies in Jaffa and Tiberias, the chief towns in lordships ruled by members of the Montlhéry kindred, Hugh II of Jaffa (or of

²⁴ FC 3.55–56, pp. 800–805; WT 13.20, p. 612. See Pryor, *Geography*, pp. 116–122.

²⁵ WT 13.17, p. 607.

²⁶ FC 3.28.2–4, 3.33.1–3, pp. 697–698, 731–732; WT 13.8, 12, pp. 595, 599–600.

²⁷ FC 3.46.3–7, pp. 773–774; WT 13.17, pp. 607–608.

²⁸ FC 3.50.1–2, pp. 784–785; WT 13.18, p. 608.

²⁹ *Cart Hosp* 1:78.

³⁰ WT 13.22, pp. 620–622; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 195–200; Ibn al-Athir, *RHC Or* 1:385–386; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold, RS 74 (London, 1879), p. 251.

Le Puiset), who was Gilduin's nephew, and William of Bures.³¹ Within a decade, after the Hospitallers had taken the first steps towards the creation of a military wing, they would begin to recruit well-known nobles, but at this time they were not yet attracting individuals of status into their ranks, although their work in their hospital in Jerusalem may well have appealed to Montlhéry descendants, who had shown themselves predisposed to the ethos of crusading from the start. The Le Puisets, moreover, had a hospital attached to the priory they had founded at their castle in the Ile-de-France.³²

The charters were associated with or were issued in the name of Hugh of Jaffa. The first recorded a gift made on 17 January 1126 by Barisan the Old, Hugh's constable, in the presence of witnesses who included Gilduin of Le Puiset, William of Bures and six brothers of the Hospital of St John, among them a brother priest, the brethren resident in Jaffa and Tiberias, and a brother officer with the military title of constable. Since the little ceremony of endowment must have involved men serving in the royal army as it advanced into the territory controlled by Damascus,³³ this may provide the first evidence that the Hospital was beginning to diversify into military activities; two years later its master, Raymond of Le Puy, is to be found in the royal army devastating the territory of Ascalon.³⁴ Barisan gave the Hospital a village in what he termed 'the territory or lordship' of Ascalon, with Hugh's agreement. The village, al-Jiya, was close to Ascalon itself, south-west of the town and far from any territory under Christian control.³⁵

Barisan was the progenitor of the Ibelins, a family which became the most prominent noble house in Palestine in the thirteenth century. The Ibelins later believed that they were related to the Le Puisets and their pedigree opened with the following statement.

Balian [Barisan] le François fu frere au conte Guilin de Chartres, et vint deça mer soi dizieme de chevaliers.³⁶

This has always been rejected as myth and Barisan's origins have been thought to have been obscure, the most popular suggestion being that he was an Italian knight from Pisa or Sardinia.³⁷ But is his kinship with the Le Puisets and therefore with his lord Hugh of Jaffa so intrinsically unlikely? For a rear-vassal and official of a tenant-in-chief he seems to have moved in exalted circles: he was, for

³¹ *Cart Hosp* 1:71, 73. For William of Bures's relationships, see M. Rheinheimer, *Das Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Galiläa* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1990), pp. 46–47.

³² A. de Dion, 'Le Puiset aux XIe et XIIe siècles,' *Mémoires de la société d'archéologie d'Eure-et-Loir* 9 (1886), 83.

³³ The main engagement of this campaign was fought on 25 January. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 175.

³⁴ *Cart Hosp* 1:78.

³⁵ *Cart Hosp* 1:71 (RRH no. 112).

³⁶ *Les Lignages d'Outremer*, RHC Lois 2:448.

³⁷ P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 39.

instance, referred to by name among those present at the Council of Nablus in 1120, although he may have been there as regent for his very young lord.³⁸ This would not have been surprising if, as a Le Puiset and a Montlhéry descendant, he was the king's cousin. Two of his charters were witnessed by Montlhérys, one of them by two Montlhéry visitors from western Europe, Guy of Le Puiset and Guy I of Dampierre-sur-l'Aube.³⁹ The name Guilin in the pedigree is perhaps an echo of that of Abbot Gilduin, not himself a viscount of Chartres but the son and brother of viscounts. Barisan could have been Gilduin's illegitimate brother; or he could have been a brother-in-law, perhaps the brother of Mabel of Roucy who married Hugh II of Le Puiset and was Hugh of Jaffa's mother: her mother had been a daughter of Robert Guiscard of Apulia (and therefore Bohemond I of Antioch's sister) and the Roucys, who commemorated this through the use of the names Guiscard and Robert Guiscard in subsequent generations,⁴⁰ could also have adopted another name, like Barisan, with South Italian connotations. It is most likely, however, that Barisan was indeed Gilduin's brother, and therefore Hugh of Jaffa's uncle. He could not have come to the East with Gilduin because he was already in Palestine in 1115.⁴¹ It is probable that he travelled with another brother, Hugh II of Le Puiset, viscount of Chartres and later lord of Jaffa, who in 1107 had joined the crusade of his wife's uncle, Bohemond of Antioch, and had settled in Palestine in 1108.⁴²

The second charter was drawn up on behalf of Hugh of Jaffa himself in a house in Jerusalem on 27 June 1126. It recorded Hugh's confirmation of Barisan's gift and added that at the same time and before the same witnesses Hugh had augmented it with one of the three best villages which would come into his demesne in the territory and lordship of Ascalon. He had done this 'pro statu christianitatis' and for the redemption of the souls of his parents and all his relations, and 'ut Deus civitatem rebellem Ascalonem tradit in manus Christianorum'.⁴³

The third charter, also issued on Hugh's behalf, is dated to 1123. This has worried Mayer,⁴⁴ and rightly so, since it is to be found in a particularly corrupt and ill-written manuscript. In it Hugh gave St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat a village in the territory of Ascalon, which he referred to as the third best, after two others he had already donated. He also gave St Mary the greater mosque

³⁸ Mansi, *Concilia* 21:263.

³⁹ *Chartes Josaphat*, pp. 41–42; *Cart Hosp* 1:71.

⁴⁰ W. K. zu Isenburg, F. Freytag von Loringhoven et al., *Europäische Stammtafeln*, 2nd ed., 15 vols. so far (Marburg, 1956–), 3: table 677.

⁴¹ *Chartes Josaphat*, p. 29.

⁴² H.E. Mayer, 'The Origins of the County of Jaffa,' *Israel Exploration Journal* 35 (1985), 43–45 = *idem*, *Kings and Lords*, no. 10.

⁴³ *Cart Hosp* 1:72–73 (RRH no. 113).

⁴⁴ H.E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Schriften der MGH 26 (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 151–152.

inside Ascalon itself and one of the better gardens outside the town.⁴⁵ The charter must postdate the gift of another of the villages to the Hospital of St John in 1126 and it is obviously associated with an endowment from Barisan to St Mary, which was made in 1127.⁴⁶ It should probably be dated to that year.

These endowments for the Hospital and St Mary clearly had the blessing of King Baldwin, who confirmed the gift to St Mary in 1130.⁴⁷ It had previously been assumed that Ascalon would be part of the royal domain once it had been conquered,⁴⁸ but it looks as though in the autumn of 1125, at the time of his first raid into the region or at any rate just before his expedition to Damascus in January 1126, the king had given Hugh of Jaffa lordship over Ascalon in advance of its conquest, possibly in return for him at least keeping up the pressure on it, or perhaps even organizing its occupation by force. Such an arrangement on the Christian marches was not unusual. In 1144 the Hospitallers were granted territories to conquer outside Christian control when they were endowed with Crac des Chevaliers and a section of the frontier of the county of Tripoli; and other grants of this sort were made to them on the borders of Tripoli and Antioch in 1168, 1184 and 1186.⁴⁹

It seems, therefore, that the Christians had adopted an aggressive and risky strategy in the seven years before Baldwin's death in 1131. Tyre had been occupied. The two chief Muslim enemies, Cairo in Egypt and Damascus in Syria, had been taken on at once. Major attacks on Damascus or its territory had been launched in 1126 and 1129, while two raids into the countryside around Egyptian Ascalon had been accompanied by the granting of it to the closest Christian marcher lord, Hugh of Jaffa, who was the king's cousin, as, incidentally, was William of Bures, the lord of Galilee, who controlled the other active frontier, that with the lands of Damascus; it is surely no coincidence that in the 1120s Galilee appears to have been the only lordship in the kingdom other than Jaffa to have had a constable among its lord's officials.⁵⁰

But within a year of Baldwin's death and the Egyptian embassy, the picture had changed. The first sign of a renewed Christian concern with the garrison at Ascalon is to be found in 1132, probably early in the year when King Fulk was absent in the north. The patriarch and citizens of Jerusalem built Chastel Hernaut in the foothills of the Judaeian hills to protect the road to their city from Egyptian raiders.⁵¹ By 1136 the threat from Ascalon to the kingdom had become so great

⁴⁵ 'Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Vallée de Josaphat en Terre Sainte (1108-1291),' ed. C. Kohler, *ROL* 7 (1899), 119-120 (RRH no. 102a).

⁴⁶ *Chartes Josaphat*, pp. 41-42 (RRH no. 120).

⁴⁷ *Chartes Josaphat*, p. 47.

⁴⁸ TTh 1:88, 92-93 (RRH nos. 102, 105).

⁴⁹ J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050-1310* (London, 1967), pp. 55-57, 66-68.

⁵⁰ J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), p. 19.

⁵¹ WT 14.8, p. 640.

that Fulk had begun to construct a ring of castles round it to contain its garrison; they included one granted to the Hospitallers.⁵²

The situation in Egypt at the time of Baldwin's death and Fulk's coronation in 1131 was particularly unstable. The caliph al-Amir was assassinated in 1130. His son, only a few months old, was proclaimed his heir, but was soon murdered and a death from natural causes was probably announced by al-Amir's cousin and future successor, the regent al-Hafiz. But al-Hafiz was himself imprisoned by the new wazir, Abu Ali Ahmad ibn al-Afdal, known as Kutayfat, the son of the great wazir al-Afdal. Kutayfat had retained the loyalty of his father's regiment and so was able to seize power, but he was not a caliph and the Friday sermons in the mosques did not name one. Rather, since the direct line of the Fatimid dynasty had been extinguished the empire was placed under the sovereignty of the Hidden Imam. It is noteworthy that the Imam regarded as being in occultation was the Twelfth, the mahdi of the Imamis, and it has been pointed out that this effectively abolished Isma'ilism as Egypt's state religion. The *katibs* had to declaim a grandiloquent list of titles accorded by Kutayfat to himself as protector of the rights of the Hidden Imam.

It was Kutayfat who sent the embassy to Jerusalem and the St Laud memorandum was nearly correct in its description of him as sultan; he actually referred to himself as *malik* or prince. His position must have been precarious, and he was in fact murdered by guards loyal to the Fatimids in December 1131.⁵³ In his short period of government he took the unprecedented step of appointing or replacing the four chief *qadis* in Cairo: of the Shafi'is, Malikis, Ismai'ilis and Imamis. 'The like of this had never been heard of before in the faith of Islam.' He also allowed a new Coptic patriarch to be consecrated after a six-year vacancy in the patriarchate.⁵⁴ Although the details of his rule seem to have been expunged from the Fatimid records, it may be that he had instituted a policy of religious toleration to gain support, although it was said later that he had proclaimed the religion of anti-shi'ism and had persecuted the Isma'ilis.⁵⁵

One's first reaction to the appearance in Jerusalem in September 1131 of an embassy from Kutayfat is that, having already shown some favour to the Christian community in Egypt, he must have been looking for a Christian ally. It would not have been surprising, given how isolated he must have felt, if he had offered the Kingdom of Jerusalem a truce. And I wonder whether he was not also prepared to surrender Ascalon, although any offer his embassy made must have been refused, because within a few months the garrison at Ascalon was again perceived by the Christians to be a threat. I speculate in this way because of events that occurred shortly afterwards involving Hugh of Jaffa, who was

⁵² WT 14.22, pp. 659-661; *Cart Hosp* 1:97-98.

⁵³ Ibn al-Athir, RHC Or 1:390-391, 393-395; S.M. Stern, 'The Succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Amir, the Claims of the Later Fatimids to the Imamate, and the Rise of Tayyibi Ismailism,' *Oriens* 4 (1951), 193-255.

⁵⁴ I am grateful to Dr Brett for providing me with this information.

⁵⁵ Stern, 'The Succession,' pp. 199-200.

accused of treason by King Fulk. Joined by Roman of Le Puy, the dispossessed lord of Transjordan, Hugh refused to appear for a judicial duel and, faced by the confiscation of his fief, sailed down the coast to Ascalon, where he made a treaty himself with the Egyptian garrison there. The Egyptians raided Christian territory as far as Arsuf. When Fulk responded by besieging Jaffa, Hugh's leading vassals, including Barisan, deserted him. After mediation by the patriarch, Hugh accepted the judgement that he and his supporters should be exiled for three years, during which time the crown would enjoy the revenues from his fiefs. But after three years Jaffa would be restored to him, and it is clear that Hugh enjoyed much public support, particularly after a Breton knight had tried to assassinate him, while the king had little.⁵⁶

Both William of Tyre and Ibn al-Qalanisi seem to assign Hugh's revolt to December 1132.⁵⁷ Professor Hans Mayer has dated it, however, to the second half of 1134,⁵⁸ although I do not think that in terms of my argument here the exact date matters much. William of Tyre suggested that it was rumours that Hugh was having an affair with Queen Melisende that led to bad blood between him and the king, but Mayer has argued that the real reason for Hugh's rebellion may have been Fulk's determination to bring in new men of his own to replace the old household officials,⁵⁹ and I have suggested elsewhere that in this Hugh may have been representing the interests of the Montlhérys who were disappointed by the new king.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, questions remain unanswered. Hugh's sentence was an extraordinarily light one, given the fact that an *établissement* on the confiscation of fiefs, which dated from Baldwin II's reign, had decreed permanent disinheritance for anyone who entered into possession of a fief 'par force des Sarasins contre la volonté de son seignor et sans esgart de cort,'⁶¹ which is precisely what Hugh had envisaged doing. Why was his lordship only confiscated for three years? And why did he attract such sympathy? William of Tyre inveighed against the enormity of Hugh's crime, but William had been a child in the 1130s and was writing many years later. The questions are easier to answer if the events of 1132 (or 1134) followed relatively shortly after a refusal by Fulk of an Egyptian offer of a truce which involved the surrender of Ascalon. Since Hugh's rights to Ascalon had already been recognized by Fulk's predecessor, he would have been

⁵⁶ WT 14.15–18, pp. 651–656.

⁵⁷ WT 14.15, p. 651; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 215.

⁵⁸ H.E. Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem,' *DOP* 26 (1972), 102–105 = *idem*, *Probleme*, no. 3.

⁵⁹ H.E. Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989), 1–25 = *idem*, *Kings and Lords*, no. 4.

⁶⁰ J.S.C. Riley-Smith, 'Families, Crusades and Settlement in the Latin East, 1102–1131,' to be published.

⁶¹ *Le Livre au roi*, ed. M. Greilsammer (Paris, 1995), p. 182. For the date, see J.S.C. Riley-Smith, 'Further Thoughts on Baldwin II's *établissement* on the Confiscation of Fiefs,' *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P.W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 176–180.

bitterly disappointed at the failure to clinch a deal. This would go a long way towards explaining his subsequent discontent.

At any rate the speed with which the activities of the garrison at Ascalon again became an object of concern after September 1131 suggests either that the Egyptians had somehow gained the upper hand in the south-western frontier region — the new caliph, al-Hafiz, was going to show himself to be much more active in this respect — or that negotiations with the Egyptian embassy had come to nothing. It is clear from other evidence that Fulk was determined to change the direction in which the kingdom had been moving and to reverse the Montlhéry policies of the 1120s. He signalled this from the start, because he chose to be crowned not in Bethlehem, as Baldwin I and Baldwin II had been, but in the Holy Sepulchre compound in Jerusalem. This may have been because the date chosen for his coronation was 14 September, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, commemorating the discovery of the True Cross;⁶² or it may have reflected Fulk's personal devotion to the cross. But whatever it meant, the coronation marked a clean break with the predilections of his predecessors. And that such a break occurred is confirmed in the accounts of at least two contemporaries, of different religious persuasions and two thousand miles apart. Much attention has been given recently to a passage in Orderic Vitalis's *Historia*, written in Normandy, in which Orderic reported that Fulk

looked less wisely to the future than he should and changed governors and other officials too quickly and unreasonably. As a new ruler he banished from his household the lords who from the first had fought strenuously against the Turks...and replaced them with Angevin strangers and other newly-arrived unsophisticates...So there arose great rancour.⁶³

In Damascus Ibn al-Qalanisi made almost the same charge.

[Fulk] was not sound in his judgement nor was he successful in his administration, so that by the loss of Baldwin [II] they [the settlers] were thrown into confusion and discordance.⁶⁴

I am, therefore, drawn to the following conclusions. In the autumn of 1131 an embassy from a wazir of Egypt who had usurped power there and had embarked on a revolutionary policy that involved the dismantling of Fatimid and Isma'ili rule, arrived in Jerusalem. The embassy had been perhaps originally destined to address King Baldwin II and its aim may have been to ask for a truce involving the surrender of Ascalon by the Egyptians. This would have justified the very aggressive, indeed rash, policy pursued since 1125 by the king of Jerusalem with

⁶² H.E. Mayer, 'Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem,' *DOP* 21 (1967), 154 = idem, *Probleme*, no. 1.

⁶³ Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–79) 6:390–392.

⁶⁴ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 208.

the support of his Montlhéry cousins in Jaffa and Galilee. Fulk, who had now succeeded to the throne, refused the truce, or made such additional demands that the Egyptians found them insupportable, although he accepted the gifts the embassy brought and sent one of them — the ivory *tau* staff — to St Laud in Angers for ceremonial use in the reception of his heirs. In 1132 the Christian settlers threw up a castle to protect the road through the Judaeen hills from a resumption of attacks from Ascalon, which now proved to be such a threat that Fulk had to construct a ring of other castles to contain the Muslim garrison. And Hugh of Jaffa, who had had expectations of the lordship of Ascalon, rose in revolt.

The Crusading Project of 1150

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The spectacular failure of the Second Crusade — and the reaction of contemporaries to the failure — has tended to overshadow in the minds of scholars the two subsequent efforts to organize military expeditions to the East.¹ The first of these, in 1149–50, was based on an alliance between Louis VII of France and Roger II of Sicily and was directed against the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus, who was widely considered responsible for the failure of the Second Crusade. It collapsed owing to Conrad III's refusal to give up his alliance with Manuel.² The second, with which this article is concerned, was inspired by the devastating campaigns of Nur al-Din in Syria, which carried him to the walls of Damascus and Antioch, and especially by the death of Raymond of Antioch on 29 June 1149.³ It was centered in France and aimed at sending a new crusading army directly to the Holy Land.⁴ The two projects were parallel but, so far as is known, independent, though some of the same people were involved, and there are no references to the expedition against the Greeks in the sources relating to the 1150 crusading plans.⁵ These sources were indeed long thought to relate to

¹ See the bibliography (up to 1960) in Hans E. Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hanover, 1960), pp. 103–104, and in particular Giles Constable, 'The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries,' *Traditio* 9 (1953), 213–279, and the essays in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1992).

² Peter the Venerable in a letter written to Roger of Sicily in 1148/52 referred to 'illa scilicet pessima, inaudita et lamentabilis Graecorum et nequam regis eorum de peregrinis nostris, hoc est exercitu dei uiuentis, facta proditio.' *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, Harvard Historical Studies 78, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 1:395, no. 162, with notes in 2:206–207. On this project see, among other works Wilhelm Bernhardt, *Konrad III*, *Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1873; repr. 1975), pp. 811–819; Elphège Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard, abbé de Clairvaux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1895), 2:427–428; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), 2:148–151; Helmut Gleber, *Papst Eugen III. (1145–1153)*, *Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte* 6 (Jena, 1936), pp. 127–136; and (briefer accounts) Runciman, *Crusades* 2:286–287, and Mayer, *Crusades*, p. 104.

³ WT 17.9, pp. 770–772. See W.B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 165–167; Runciman, *Crusades* 2:325–330; and, on Nur-al-Din, Hamilton A.R. Gibb, in *A History of the Crusades*, 1: *The First Hundred Years*, ed. Marshall Baldwin (Madison, 1969), pp. 513–527.

⁴ Vacandard, *St Bernard* 2:428, n. 2.

⁵ Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial, 'Mémoire sur la véritable époque d'une assemblée tenue à Chartres relativement à la croisade de Louis-le-Jeune,' *Histoire et mémoires de l'Institut royal de France. Classe d'histoire et de littérature ancienne* 4 (1818), 508–529; Achille Luchaire, 'Sur la chronologie des documents et des faits relatifs à l'histoire de Louis VII pendant l'année 1150,' *Annales de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux* 4 (1882), 298–304; Bernhardt, *Konrad III*, pp. 819–821; Richard

the organization of the Second Crusade in 1146, but in the early nineteenth century Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial, basing himself in part on the silence of Odo of Deuil and in part on datable references in the sources, proved beyond question that they related to 1150.⁶ Wilken in the third volume of his *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, which appeared in 1817, apparently reached a similar conclusion independently but argued for 1151 because the events described shortly preceded Suger's death, which he dated in 1152 rather than 1151.⁷ All recent scholars, however, have accepted the year 1150.

The principal architect of the new crusade was abbot Suger, whose biographer William of St Denis wrote that

The illustrious man suffered every day in his spirit that no traces of virtue were apparent from that pilgrimage [the Second Crusade]. He was distressed that out of such a great army of the Franks some died miserably either by iron [weapons] or from hunger and that he saw others return without glory. He was therefore deeply concerned lest on account of this misfortune the glory of the Christian name would perish in the East and the holy places would be crushed and surrendered to the infidels. He received letters from across the sea from the king of Jerusalem and the patriarch of Antioch tearfully asking him for help and saying that after the prince [Raymond of Antioch] was killed the cross of Christ was shut up in Antioch by the Saracens and the city was close to surrender unless aid came quickly. At the same time Pope Eugene sent him apostolic letters both requesting him out of reverence and ordering him by authority to use his God-given wisdom to see how to help the Eastern church and to remove in any way he could the shame of the Christians. Roused by this necessity, especially since he

Hirsch, *Studien zur Geschichte König Ludwigs VII. von Frankreich (1119–1160)* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 69–73; Vacandard, *St Bernard* 2:427–432; Otto Cartellieri, *Abt Suger von Saint-Denis 1081–1151*, Historische Studien 11 (Berlin, 1898; repr. 1965), pp. 65–67 (with a useful list of relevant documents, cited here by number, on pp. 160–162); Karl Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, ed. Henri Leclercq, 5.1 (Paris, 1912), 843–844; Eberhard Pfeiffer, 'Die Stellung des hl. Bernhard zur Kreuzzugsbewegung nach seinen Schriften,' *Cistercienser-Chronik* 46 (1934), 305–308, and 47 (1935), 149; Gleber, *Eugen III.*, pp. 127–136; Virginia Berry, 'Peter the Venerable and the Crusades,' in *Petrus Venerabilis 1156–1956. Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Death*, ed. Giles Constable and James Kritzeck, Studia Anselmiana 40 (Rome, 1956), pp. 159–162; and Brenda Bolton, 'The Cistercians and the Aftermath of the Second Crusade,' in *The Second Crusade*, ed. Gervers, pp. 131–140. No mention of the project is found in many standard works on the crusades, but there are brief references in Bernhard Kugler, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellung 2.5 (Berlin, 1880), p. 154, and Mayer, *Crusades*, p. 104, who described the 'new crusade' as 'genuine' and 'intended to make amends for or 1148.'

⁶ Brial's conclusions, which were published in 1818 (see n. 5), were originally presented in a paper read on 29 August 1806, to which reference was made in the article on Bernard of Clairvaux in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 13 (Paris, 1814; repr. 1869), pp. 142–143. Vacandard, *St Bernard* 2:430, n. 2, attributed the previous misdating of the sources to 'une distraction presque inexplicable.'

⁷ Friedrich Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1807–32), 3:279, n. 16, said that Brial's work came to his attention (through the *Histoire littéraire*) after his own work was written. The date 1151 given in the German edition of Hefele, *Conciles*, was corrected to 1150 in the French edition. See Luchaire, 'Chronologie,' pp. 299–300, and Hirsch, *Studien*, p. 69, n. 5.

was both urged by apostolic order and strengthened by authority, he began piously to consider how he could both assist those in danger and turn the injury of the cross against the evil-doers. He judged that the king of the Franks and the recently-returned army should be spared, since they had scarcely drawn a little breath, and he assembled the bishops of the kingdom, summoned for this business, and exhorted and urged them to seek with him the glory of a victory that had been denied to the most powerful kings. After trying this in vain for a third time, and realizing the sense of fear and cowardice of these men, he none the less undertook, when others had given up, to fulfill the vow in a praiseworthy manner by himself.

Suger therefore gathered support for the Holy Land out of the resources of his own monastery, and shortly before his death he sent a noble who was experienced in military matters (and who may have been a Templar) and a band of soldiers 'to fight the infidel and to avenge the celestial injuries.'⁸

The statement that Suger gave up after trying to organize the crusade for a third time presumably refers to the three meetings held in 1150 at Laon, Chartres, and Compiègne, on which further light is shed by several letters in the correspondence of Suger, Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable, and Pope Eugene III. The date and location of the Laon meeting are known respectively from a letter to Suger from Bishop Alan of Redon saying that he would come in the first week of Lent (that is, 5–11 March)⁹ and from a letter to Peter the Venerable from Suger (which will be cited again later) saying that the meeting at Laon was attended by archbishops and bishops and also (contrary to what William of St Denis said of Suger's intentions) by the king and *optimates* of the realm.¹⁰ Bernard apparently did not attend, since he wrote in Letter 380 to Suger that 'I received the news brought by the master of the Temple and brother John as joyfully as if I believed it to have come from God. The lament of the Eastern church is so sad that anyone who is not fully moved is no son of the church.' He then said that he was prevented from coming to Suger by a meeting with the bishop of Langres but that he would come at

⁸ William of St Denis, *Sugerii Vita*, 3, in *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1867), pp. 398–401; see Cartellieri, *Suger*, pp. 66–67, and Michel Bur, *Suger, abbé de Saint-Denis, régent de France* (Paris, 1991), pp. 301–302. William discussed the reasons for the failure of the Second Crusade in his *Dialogus*, 15, ed. André Wilmart, 'Le dialogue apologétique du moine Guillaume, biographe de Suger,' *Revue Mabillon* 32 (1942), 107–108, on which see Hubert Glaser, 'Wilhelm von Saint-Denis,' *Historisches Jahrbuch* 85 (1965), 296, and Giles Constable, 'A Report of a Lost Sermon by St Bernard on the Failure of the Second Crusade,' in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History Presented to Jeremiah O'Sullivan*, Cistercian Studies Series 13 (Spencer, 1971), pp. 52–53.

⁹ *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, ed. André Duchesne, 5 vols. (Paris, 1636–49), 4:534, no. 130 (= *Scriptores*), = *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1738–1904; repr. of first 19 vols. 1869–80), 15:525, no. 111 (= *Recueil*); Cartellieri, *Suger*, no. 281.

¹⁰ *Oeuvres de Suger*, pp. 268–269, = *Letters of Peter the Venerable* 1: 398–399, no. 165, with notes in 2:209; Cartellieri, *Suger*, no. 285.

another time, together with the bishop, 'who could be very useful to the discussion.'¹¹

Eugene III in his bull *Immensum pietatis*, dated 25 April and addressed to Suger, said that 'The great work of piety that divine mercy has inspired in my most beloved son Louis the illustrious king of the Franks has made me very anxious (*nos plurimum anxios reddit*).' He went on to say, referring either to the Second Crusade or to the campaigns of Nur al-Din, that the blow to the Christian name and the recent loss of blood by so many men have made him frightened and sad. Louis's devotion and love have mitigated his sadness, however, and brought hope of consolation. He therefore told Suger to study the spirits of the king, barons, and other men of the realm, 'and if you find them ready for so hard a task you should with confidence (*secure*) promise them my advice and help, as much as I can, and remission of sins, as is contained in my other letter (*aliis litteris nostris*).'¹² *Immensum pietatis* has been interpreted by most historians as lukewarm if not hostile to the undertaking. A good deal depends on the exact sense of *anxios*, however, which may mean uncertain or concerned rather than anxious in the modern sense. Eugene was clearly cautious, but he was ready to support the project provided Suger believed that the king and nobles were ready to do so, and he apparently issued a separate letter, now lost but probably couched in more positive terms, promising the participants his help and remission of sins.¹³

Suger wrote to Peter the Venerable the letter mentioned above, presumably in March or early April 1150, beginning 'I know from the letters that have been sent to me from those regions, and you doubtless have also heard, of the calamity of the Eastern church and the siege in the city of Antioch of the cross of the Lord, the king of Jerusalem, the brothers of the Temple, and other faithful men.' He then described the meeting at Laon and the decision to hold a general council at Chartres on 7 May. He urgently requested Peter to attend and asked him to invite the archbishop of Lyons 'lest on account of the delay he should have occasion for not coming.'¹⁴ Bernard wrote to Peter in similar terms. Since 'the very serious and sad complaint of the Eastern church has, I think, reached your ears and, indeed, the innermost parts of your heart,' Peter should take pity on 'the mother of yourself and of all the faithful,' especially when she is so afflicted and threatened.

¹¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 380, in *S. Bernardi opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais, 8 vols. in 9 (Rome, 1957-77), 8:344; Cartellieri, *Suger*, no. 282. Bernard is not explicit, but his statement about the troubles of the eastern church suggests that this letter refers to the Laon meeting.

¹² PL 180:1414C-1415A; Philipp Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, ed. S. Löwenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, and P. Ewald, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885-8), no. 9385 (= JL); Cartellieri, *Suger*, no. 283. At the end of the letter Eugene asked Suger to keep him informed of developments.

¹³ This 'other letter' (or possibly letters) is lost, unless Eugene was referring to *Quantum predecessores* or another previous crusading bull.

¹⁴ See n. 10 above.

For our fathers the bishops of France, together with the lord king and princes, will come to Chartres on the third Sunday after Easter [7 May] and will discuss this matter, and I very much hope to deserve your presence there. ... I am confident that your presence will greatly benefit this discussion owing both to the authority of the holy church of Cluny over which by God's will you preside and most greatly to the wisdom and grace that He gave you for the advantage of others and His own honour.¹⁵

Peter replied to both Suger and Bernard expressing his regret that he was unable to come. To Bernard he wrote,

Who is not moved that the Holy Land, [which was] not so long ago freed from the yoke of the impious by such great labours of our fathers and by so much blood of the Christians, may perhaps again be subjected to the impious and the blasphemous? ... Who is not moved, I say, not only to sympathize, which is easy for everyone, but also to help in any way they can and to enter into a serious undertaking?

This is the reason, Peter said, that the king and the fathers of the church and great men of the realm decided to meet at Chartres and that he himself was invited to attend. He was prevented from coming both by 'the many misfortunes of my body,' as he wrote to Suger, and by an important meeting at Cluny to be held on the same day as the council at Chartres. 'But if another meeting is held at another time,' he wrote to Bernard, 'either in your region or in ours, your reverence should know that I shall most willingly come unless an inevitable reason again stands in the way and that either with or without a meeting I shall offer to help such a cause in any way I can.'¹⁶ Two further letters relating to the council of Chartres were sent to Suger, one by Archbishop Geoffrey of Bordeaux, who was unable to attend owing to ill-health and a previously-scheduled meeting at St-Jean-d'Angély on the second Sunday after Easter (30 April),¹⁷ and another by Archbishop Humbert of Lyon, who declined to come on account of the refusal of the archbishop of Sens to recognize the primacy of the church of Lyon and of the possible danger to his church during his absence. Humbert sent in his place, however, the former archbishop of Vienne, Stephen, 'who will assist you in my place as much as he can in the cause of God' and who would also help to settle the dispute between the churches of Lyon and Sens.¹⁸

A puzzling passage in an undated letter from the provost of Ellwangen to an unknown prior C (or of C) raises the possibility that word of the Chartres meeting circulated outside France.

¹⁵ Bernard, *Ep.* 364, ed. Leclercq, 8:318–319, = *Letters of Peter the Venerable* 1:395–396, no. 163, with notes in 2:208–209.

¹⁶ *Letters of Peter the Venerable* 1:396–400, nos. 164 and 166, with notes in 2:208–209; Cartellieri, *Suger*, nos. 286 and 289; Berry, 'Peter the Venerable,' pp. 159–162.

¹⁷ *Scriptores* 4:536, no. 135, = *Recueil* 15:524, no. 109; Cartellieri, *Suger*, no. 288. Another, and probably later, letter from Geoffrey to Suger (cited n. 28 below) suggests that he started on his way but stopped at Fontevault.

¹⁸ *Scriptores* 4:535–536, no. 134, = *Recueil* 15:523–524, no. 108; Cartellieri, *Suger*, no. 287.

I advise what I hope to be of great, indeed very great, benefit for the future, that you should most urgently exhort, request, and persuade the abbot of Clairvaux to put aside for the time being all his other affairs, as if in order to be free for prayer, and to come to the meeting of the king and other princes and many religious men after Easter, and there like a pious son, because he can do more than others, he should hold the case of the holy mother church in his hand and like an armed warrior defend [it] against any attackers.¹⁹

This sounds (as Jean Leclercq, the editor of the letter, proposed) like the council of Chartres, which involved the king and princes, met after Easter, and was called to deal with a serious threat to the church. Since Ellwangen was in the diocese of Augsburg, however, and another passage in the letter referred to the abbot of Eberbach, the meeting in question was probably held in the Empire rather than in France. It seems unlikely, furthermore, that the provost of Ellwangen, even if his correspondent was the prior of Cîteaux or Clairvaux, would have written in such terms about a meeting of which Bernard was one of the principal promoters.

There is no official record of the business conducted at Chartres aside from a charter of Louis VII concerning a dispute between Ralph Mauvoisin and some *pauperes*.²⁰ Bernard wrote to the pope after the council saying that 'You have done well to praise the zeal of our Gallican church and to strengthen it by the authority of your letters.' This presumably refers to *Immensum pietatis* or to 'the other letter' promising advice and assistance and remission of sins, though thirteen days (25 April to 7 May) was an exceptionally short time for a letter to reach Chartres from Rome.²¹ Bernard went on to say, perhaps reproaching the pope's caution, that 'Nothing should be done tepidly or timidly ... in so general and so serious a cause' and that in this passion of Christ, Who was suffering again 'where He suffered in the other passion,' the pope must draw both the temporal and the spiritual swords. 'Both are Peter's: one should be drawn at his command and the other by his hand, as often as needed.' 'A special danger

¹⁹ Jean Leclercq, 'Lettres du temps de saint Bernard' (1951), repr. in his *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits* 2, *Storia e letteratura: Raccolta di studi e testi* 104 (Rome, 1966), p. 337, with notes on pp. 334–335.

²⁰ *Scriptores* 4:537, no. 139; Achille Luchaire, *Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris, 1885), pp. 178–179, no. 248; Cartellieri, *Suger*, no. 290.

²¹ Bernard travelled with great difficulty from Rome to Clairvaux in twenty days, according to Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita prima Bernardi*, 4.1, in *Sancti Bernardi ... opera omnia*, ed. Jean Mabillon (Paris, 1839), 2.2 (= 6), 2216A. An express messenger could presumably travel faster, and in the sixteenth century, when the speed of travel was not much greater than in the twelfth, it was possible for a letter to reach Paris from Rome in ten days: Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1957), 1:54–55. The average time to carry a letter from Rome to Canterbury in the twelfth century was twenty-nine days, according to Reginald L. Poole, 'The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury' (1924), repr. in his *Studies in Chronology and History*, ed. Austin L. Poole (Oxford, 1934), p. 263. See also the references in Piero Zerbi, 'Remarques sur l'Epistola 98 de Pierre le Vénérable,' in *Pierre Abélard — Pierre le Vénérable ... Abbaye de Cluny 2 au 9 juillet 1972*, *Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique* 546 (Paris, 1975), p. 230, n. 27.

requires a special effort,' Bernard wrote, and the swords must be drawn now in order to defend the eastern church. Bernard himself, he told the pope, had been chosen at Chartres, against his advice, wish, and capacity, 'almost as the leader and prince of the army.' This was entirely beyond his strength and ability, not to mention his monastic profession, and he asked the pope to protect him from human desires (*humanis voluntatibus*) of this sort.²²

Bernard certainly played a leading role at the council, but what exactly he did is unknown. An entry under the year 1150 in the Premonstratensian continuation of the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux, and in at least two other chronicles, recorded that 'After councils were held in France, and Pope Eugene agreed that the abbot of Clairvaux should be sent to Jerusalem in order to incite others, another great sermon (*sermo*) was celebrated concerning the journey across the sea, but it came to nothing entirely owing to the Cistercian monks.'²³ The nature of the *sermo* is uncertain, but it seems likely that Bernard preached at the council. In an exemplum in the late thirteenth century MS London, British Library, Royal 7.D.i, Bernard was said to have preached to the crusaders after their return from the Second Crusade a sermon in which he attributed the failure to the confidence of the crusaders in their own power rather than God's help and to the fact that they sought earthly rather than heavenly things.²⁴ The story may be apocryphal, but the views expressed are consistent with those of Bernard, and he is not known to have any other occasion to preach to the crusaders after their return. The attribution to Bernard in MS Brussels, Bibliothèque royale 1840-1848 of a sermon given at the council of Chartres shows that Bernard was thought to have preached there, though the sermon in question (as Leclercq pointed out) is in fact by Hildebert of Lavardin and was given at the council of Chartres in 1124.²⁵

After the council Bernard wrote to Peter the Venerable that 'A great and serious enterprise of the Lord has appeared in the entire world. Great indeed, since the King of heaven is losing His land, the land of His inheritance, the land "where His feet stood" [Psalm 131.7]. "But there is none to help,"' Bernard continued, citing Psalm 21.12.

The hearts of the princes have become weak; they carry a sword without a purpose; it is wrapped in the skins of dead animals and consecrated to rust. ... The Son of God has turned to you as to one of the greatest princes of His house. For 'a certain nobleman who went into a far country' [Luke 19.12] committed to you much of both his inner and his outer substance, and in his need he must have your aid and counsel.

²² Bernard, *Ep.* 256, ed. Leclercq, 8:163-165.

²³ *Sigeberti continuatio Praemonstratensis*, s.a. 1150, in MGH SS 6:455. See also the *Chronicon S. Martini Turonensis*, in *Recueil* 12:474AB, and the *Appendix ad Sigebertum* attributed to the so-called 'other' Robert de Monte, in *Recueil* 13:332E, which have respectively *jubente* and *annuente* in the phrase 'conivente etiam papa Eugenio.'

²⁴ Constable, 'Report,' pp. 49-50. The sermon is said to have taken Psalm 43 as its text.

²⁵ Georg Hüffer, *Der heilige Bernard von Clairvaux*, 1: *Vorstudien* (Münster, 1886), pp. 237-246, see also 228. The sermon in question is published in PL 171, 954D-959A. See Leclercq, 'Lettres,' p. 332.

At the council of Chartres, Bernard wrote, 'Little or nothing was done of the business of God,' and on 15 July another meeting would be held at Compiègne, which he earnestly asked Peter to attend. 'It should be done in this way; necessity, and great necessity, requires it so.'²⁶ Peter's reply to this letter is not known, but, in view of the state of his health in the second half of 1150, it is unlikely that he was able to attend.²⁷ Archbishop Geoffrey of Bordeaux, in a letter probably relating to this meeting, also excused himself on the grounds of ill-health.²⁸

Suger wrote to the pope at about the same time a letter that is now lost but to which Eugene replied on 19 June with *Ex eo quod*. He praised Suger's concern for the Eastern church

because my heart is also disturbed by great sadness and greatly afflicted on this account. I therefore cannot withhold my assent to the request of yourself and others who have written me about this matter, although it will be very difficult for me owing to the weakness of the man on whom all the votes, with God's approval, have fallen. I therefore advise your love, as a discreet and prudent man, to show labour and zeal diligently in such a great and distinguished enterprise.

At the end of his letter the pope asked Suger and the bishop of Noyon to promote the cause of religion at Compiègne, presumably referring to the reform of the monastery of St Cornelius and incidentally confirming that the main part of the letter concerned the meeting at Compiègne.²⁹ Some scholars have questioned whether this meeting in fact took place,³⁰ but there is no serious reason to doubt that it did and that it constituted the third and final effort to organize the crusade to which Suger's biographer referred.³¹

The failure of these efforts has commonly been attributed to the reluctance of the king and barons, who were exhausted and discouraged by their efforts on the Second Crusade, and to the lack of firm support from the pope, whose hesitation is apparent both in his own letters and in Bernard's Letter 256, where he said that in such a cause 'Nothing should be done tepidly or timidly' and

²⁶ Bernard, *Ep.* 521, ed. Leclercq, 8:483-484. This letter was discovered by J. Satabin and published (with notes) in *Etudes religieuses* 62 (May-August 1894), 321-327, and (without notes) in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 55 (1894), 563-564. It was therefore not known to Luchaire, 'Chronologie,' p. 304, who said that the location of the third meeting was unknown.

²⁷ *Letters of Peter the Venerable* 1: 379-383, nos. 158a and b, with notes in 2:205 and 250.

²⁸ *Scriptores* 4:542, no. 155, = *Recueil* 15:524-525, no. 110; Cartellieri, *Suger*, no. 297. That this letter applied to the meeting at Compiègne is suggested by the reference to Geoffrey's inability to come to the council at Chartres.

²⁹ PL 180:1419CD, and *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne*, ed. E. Morel, 1 (Montdidier, 1904), 114-115, no. 62; JL 9398; Cartellieri, *Suger*, no. 295. Cf. Kugler, *Kreuzzüge*, p. 154, n. 1, who cited the bull as reading 'imbecillitas personae abbatibus Bernardi.'

³⁰ Vacandard, *St Bernard* 2:432; Hefele, *Conciles*, ed. Leclercq, 5.1, 843, n. 4; Berry, 'Peter the Venerable,' p. 162; and Bolton, 'Cistercians,' p. 138.

³¹ If the phrase 'grandis iterum sermo de profectioe transmarina celebratur' in the Premonstratensian continuation of Sigebert and other chronicles cited n. 23 above means that 'another great discussion was celebrated concerning the journey across the sea,' it may refer to the meeting at Compiègne.

urged Eugene to draw both swords with vigour and decision. So far as is known, however, Eugene's doubts were expressed in private letters. Publicly he issued letters promising his help and advice and remission of sins, and he approved not only the participation of Bernard of Clairvaux but also (to judge from the entry in the Premonstratensian continuation of Sigebert and other chronicles) his going to Jerusalem.³² This approval may, indeed, have contributed to the failure, since according to the chronicles, 'It came to nothing entirely owing to the Cistercians,' who may not have wanted Bernard to organize another crusade, let alone to go to the Holy Land.³³ A further damper on the endeavour was doubtless put by the refusal of Conrad III to abandon his alliance with the Byzantine emperor and the consequent collapse of the plan for a joint French and Sicilian campaign against Byzantium.³⁴ The fact that an experienced and realistic leader like Suger promoted the idea, however, and enlisted the support of Bernard, the pope, and (at least for a time) the king and that he was able to hold three councils within rapid succession shows that there was still a serious concern in France for the problems of the Christians in the East and some real enthusiasm for a project which, had it come to fruition, might have been known in history as the Third Crusade.

³² Brial, 'Mémoire,' p. 518, said that Bernard's *Ep.* 256 reflected the impression made by reading *Immensum pietatis* publicly at Chartres; Henri Leclercq in his edition of Hefele, *Conciles*, 5.1, 843, n. 4, wrote 'La lecture de ce document à Chartres porta le coup de grâce au projet;' and Vacandard, *St Bernard* 2: 431, spoke of 'le mauvais effet produit par sa lettre du 25 avril.' There is no evidence that the pope's letter was read publicly, however, or that Bernard's letter recorded more than his private views. Indeed, William of St Denis in the passage cited above from the *Life* of Suger attributed the initiative in the project to Eugene, who requested and ordered Suger to do what he could to help the eastern church: see Vacandard, *St Bernard* 2:429, n.3, calling this an error on William's part.

³³ When Bernard was preaching in Languedoc in 1145, he received 'many letters from Clairvaux' urging him to return, according to Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita prima Bernardi*, 6.3.5-6, ed. Mabillon, 2.2 (=6), 2328AB. See Robert Moore, 'St Bernard's Mission in the Languedoc in 1145,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 47 (1974), 8, and Bolton, 'Cistercians,' p. 132.

³⁴ According to Wibald of Stavelot, *Ep.* 252, in *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. Philipp Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum* 1 (Berlin, 1864), p. 377, Bernard wrote to Conrad III in early March praising the king of Sicily, but by that time it was clear that Conrad would not break with Manuel.

Die Herren von Sidon und die Thronfolgekrisis des Jahres 1163 im Königreich Jerusalem

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Die Geschichte des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem könnte als eine einzige Kette von Thronfolgekrisen bezeichnet werden, die die Folge einer unübersehbaren biologischen Schwäche der lothringisch-angevinischen Königsfamilie waren. Es genügt, das 'kapetingische Wunder' gegenüberzustellen, um zu erkennen, was es bedeutete, daß es im 12. Jahrhundert bei elf Thronwechseln nur zweimal zu einer Vater-Sohn-Abfolge kam. Selbst diese beiden Fälle zeigen anormale Züge: als im Jahre 1174 Balduin IV. seinem Vater Amalrich folgte, wußte man bereits, daß er an Lepra erkrankt war und die Thronrechte voraussichtlich über seine Schwestern weitergetragen werden mußten, bei Balduin III. im Jahre 1143 stellte nicht der Vater Fulko von Anjou, sondern die Mutter Melisendis die dynastische Kontinuität her. Erst im 13. Jahrhundert von Friedrich II. auf Konrad II. (IV.) und von diesem auf Konradin traten nach drei aufeinanderfolgenden weiblichen Erbfolgen — Isabella — Maria la Marquise — Isabella von Brienne — wieder Vater-Sohn-Abfolgen ein, jedoch beide Male auf Herrscher, die nie persönlich im Osten anwesend waren. Da der Übergang von Friedrich II. auf Konrad II. (IV.) demjenigen von Fulko auf Balduin III. entsprach, war der letzte Staufer Konradin neben Balduin IV. bis zum Jahre 1268 der einzige König von Jerusalem, dessen Vater seinerseits bereits kraft Erbrechts die Königswürde besaß.

I

In den letzten 25 Jahren hat die Forschung diese dynastischen und staatsrechtlichen Probleme intensiv diskutiert. Sie verdankt dabei Hans Eberhard Mayer eine Reihe von wichtigen Beiträgen. Es ging zuerst um die Vorgänge der Jahre 1126 bis 1131, in denen die weibliche Erbfolge festgelegt wurde, und den daraus entstandenen Konflikt zwischen Balduin III. und seiner Mutter Melisendis.¹ Dann kamen die Jahre 1184–1192 ins Blickfeld, als durch die Lepraerkrankung König Balduins IV. und den frühen Tod seines Neffen Balduin V. das Überleben der Dynastie und durch eine Übertragung der Verfügungsgewalt

¹ H. E. Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende,' *DOP* 26 (1972), S. 93–182 = idem, *Probleme*, Nr. 3; zuletzt ders., 'The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem. English Impact on the East,' *DOP* 39 (1985), S. 139–147 = idem, *Kings and Lords*, Nr. 2.

über die Krone an Papst, Kaiser, französischen und englischen König die staatsrechtliche Eigenständigkeit des Königreiches auf dem Spiel stand.² Es folgte der Thronwechsel des Jahres 1118 mit der Ausschaltung eines abwesenden näheren zugunsten des anwesenden fernerer Verwandten.³ Zuletzt galt das Interesse der Krise des Jahres 1163, als nach dem Tode des kinderlosen Balduin III. Patriarch und Barone unter Mitwirkung eines päpstlichen Legaten die Trennung der Ehe seines zum Nachfolger designierten Bruders Amalrich mit Agnes von Courtenay erzwangen, die zwei aus dieser Ehe hervorgegangenen Kinder freilich legitimiert wurden. Drei mit dieser Krise verbundene Fragen können jetzt als geklärt angesehen werden:

1. Der wirkliche Grund für die Scheidung war nicht die zu nahe Verwandtschaft, wie uns Wilhelm von Tyrus glauben machen will,⁴ sondern ein bigamistischer Charakter der Ehe Amalrichs mit Agnes, die zu ihrem früheren Ehepartner, Hugo von Ibelin, zurückkehrte.⁵
2. Die im Scheidungsprozess im Jahre 1163 anerkannte Legitimität der Kinder von Amalrich und Agnes wurde später zugunsten von Isabella, der Tochter Amalrichs aus der zweiten Ehe mit der Byzantinerin Maria Komnene, angefochten.⁶
3. Als Alternative zu der von der ältesten Tochter Balduins II. Melisendis abstammenden Linie der Dynastie stand im Jahre 1163 wohl vor allem eine Erhebung Raimunds III. von Tripolis zur Diskussion.⁷

Offen geblieben ist, scheinbar mehr ein Randproblem, eine befriedigende Erklärung für eine Bemerkung Wilhelms von Tyrus am Ende des Kapitels über die Scheidungsaffäre, eine der wegen ihrer Einschübe und Rückbezüge undurchsichtigsten Stellen der ganzen Chronik. Sie sei im vollen Wortlaut angeführt: *Agnes ... (nach dem Tode Hugos von Ibelin) apud dominum Rainaldum Sydoniensem, domini Gerardi filium, eadem affectione se contulit, cum quo non minus illicitum quam cum domino Amalrico prius dicitur habere contubernium. Nam predictus pater eius, dominus Gerardus, tanquam utriusque consanguineus, sicut et pro certo erat, consanguinitatem inter predictas personas esse, sicut a maioribus suis audierat, proprio iureiurando firmavit, unde et sequutum fuit divortium, ut prelibatum est.*⁸ Wie häufig suchte der altfranzösische Übersetzer durch rigoroses Kürzen für größere Klarheit zu sorgen: *Agnes ... prist autre*

² Ders., 'Kaiserrecht und Heiliges Land,' in *Aus Reichsgeschichte und nordischer Geschichte. FS. Karl Jordan* (Stuttgart, o.J. [1972]), S. 193–208 = idem, *Probleme*, Nr. 2.

³ Ders., *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1984), S. 73–91.

⁴ WT 19.4, S. 868f.

⁵ H. E. Mayer, 'The Beginnings of King Amalric of Jerusalem,' in B.Z. Kedar (Hg.), *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem, 1992), S. 121–135.

⁶ Ders., 'Die Legitimität Balduins IV. von Jerusalem und das Testament der Agnes von Courtenay,' *Historisches Jahrbuch* 108 (1988), S. 63–89 = idem, *Kings and Lords*, Nr. 9.

⁷ Ders., 'Beginnings' (wie Anm. 5), S. 135; ders., *Varia Antiochena. Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert* (Hannover, 1993), S. 123f. und S. 55–64.

⁸ WT 19.4, S. 870.

*seingneur, Renaut de Saïete, le fuiz Girart; mès ne fu mie li mariages loiaux, quar cil Girarz jura la paranté puis, si comme il l'avoit oï dire à ses encessors, et furent desevré l'un de l'autre.*⁹ Und in der oft herangezogenen englischen Übersetzung der Chronik von Babcock und Krey lautet die Stelle: 'Agnes entered into the same bonds of affection with Renaud of Sidon, son of Gerard. This alliance is said to have been not less illegal than her former relation to King Amaury. For Gerard, the father of Renaud, a blood relation of both as he certainly was, established by his sworn statement the consanguinity of these two, as he had heard it from his ancestors. A second annulment consequently followed in the manner already described.'¹⁰

Die vierte Heirat der Agnes mit Rainald von Sidon und die im Anschluß erwähnte Scheidung wegen zu naher Verwandtschaft hat die Forschung seit Ducange immer wieder beschäftigt.¹¹ Denn Wilhelm von Tyrus bezeichnet noch zum Jahre 1176 Agnes, die den Freikauf ihres Bruders Joscelin III. aus muslimischer Gefangenschaft betrieben habe,¹² als die Gattin Rainalds, und in einer Urkunde von 1179 ist, wie Mayer gezeigt hat, von einer *magna comitissa Sagite* die Rede, was sich nur auf Agnes beziehen kann.¹³ Die Scheidung müßte nach 1176, sogar erst nach 1179 erfolgt sein. Robert B.C. Huygens hat daher in einer der wenigen Anmerkungen seiner Edition unter Verweis auf die spätere Stelle der Chronik den letzten Satz des Scheidungskapitels als eine nachträgliche Einfügung bezeichnet.¹⁴

Offensichtlich wollte Wilhelm von Tyrus zum Abschluß des Scheidungskapitels die wechselvolle Lebensgeschichte der von ihm wenig geschätzten Protagonistin Agnes weiterzeichnen. Sie war, so könnte man vorerst als Kern herauschälen, nach der Trennung von Amalrich mit Hugo von Ibelin verheiratet, an dessen Seite sie urkundlich in den Jahren 1167 und 1169 auftritt,¹⁵ und ehelichte nach dessen Tod, noch zu Lebzeiten Amalrichs — also vor 1174 —, den Sohn Gerhards

⁹ *Eracles*, RHC Occ 1:888, und ed. P. Paris (Paris, 1880), 2:258. Dieser weicht nur in orthographischen Einzelheiten ab, abgesehen vom Fehlen der letzten Worte *l'un de l'autre*, was aber hier ohne Bedeutung bleibt. Zum Verhältnis des *Eracles* zum lateinischen Text vgl. J. H. Pryor, 'The *Eracles* and William of Tyre. An Interim Report,' in *Horns of Hattin* (wie Anm. 5), S. 270–293.

¹⁰ *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea by William Archbishop of Tyre*, translated and annotated by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York, 1943), 2:302.

¹¹ Ducange-Rey, *Les Familles d'Outre-mer* (Paris, 1869), S. 433: 'Mais ce mariage ayant esté dissous par autorité de l'Eglise à cause de la parenté qui estoit entre eux ...'

¹² WT 21.10, S. 976, früher zu 1177 gestellt.

¹³ RRH Nr. 589, ed. in *Cart Hosp* 1:388, Nr. 573; vgl. den Hinweis von Mayer, 'Legitimität' (wie Anm. 6), S. 66 Anm. 8. Es ist natürlich nicht zu lesen *Magna, comitissa Sagite*, sondern entweder *magna comitissa* oder es handelt sich um eine Verlesung *magna* statt Agnes.

¹⁴ S. 870. Vgl. noch unten S. 83.

¹⁵ RRH Nr. 433, ed. in *Cart Hosp* 1:255, Nr. 371; RRH Nr. 472, ed. A. de Marsy, 'Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'ordre de Saint-Lazare,' *AOL* 2B (1884), S. 142, Nr. 25; auch in der undatierten Urkunde RRH Nr. 410a, ed. in *Cart Hosp* 1:232, Nr. 328. Zu Hugo von Ibelin vgl. Ducange, *Familles* (wie Anm. 11), S. 362f.; W.H. Rüdte de Collenberg, 'Les premiers Ibelins,' *Le Moyen Age* 71 (1965), S. 433–474, S. 463 und 469f.; jetzt zur Genealogie H. E. Mayer, 'Carving up Crusaders. The Early Ibelins and Ramlas,' in *Outremer*, S. 101–118 = idem, *Kings and Lords*, Nr. 15.

von Sidon, Rainald, was auch die *Lignages* erwähnen.¹⁶ Diese Ehe aber sei, so fügt Wilhelm von Tyrus an, nicht weniger unerlaubt (*illicitum*) gewesen als jene mit Amalrich. Da er den unkanonischen Charakter der Ehe zwischen Agnes und Amalrich mit zu naher Verwandtschaft begründet, ohne von Bigamie zu sprechen, galt das gleiche Ehehindernis auch für Agnes und Rainald. Zum Beleg führt Wilhelm von Tyrus eine Aussage Gerhards an, der als Verwandter beider (*consanguineus utriusque*) die zu nahe Verwandtschaft zwischen den genannten Personen (*inter praedictas personas*) eidlich bezeugt habe (*proprio iureiurando firmavit*), wie er sie von seinen Vorfahren gehört und wie sie auch wirklich bestanden habe, worauf die Scheidung erfolgt sei (*unde et sequutum fuit divortium*).

Daß eine zu nahe Verwandtschaft zwischen Agnes und Rainald bestand, war für Wilhelm von Tyrus bei der Niederschrift der Chronik klar. Doch diese Einsicht war, ebenso wie die genaue Verwandtschaftsbeziehung zwischen Agnes und Amalrich, erst das Ergebnis von intensiven eigenen Recherchen. Von seinen Studien in Bologna mit dem Kirchenrecht vertraut und vermutlich selber der Adressat einer Dekretale Alexanders III. zum Eherecht, wenn auch zu einem anderen Komplex,¹⁷ mußte er sich nach seiner Rückkehr in den Osten von einer Tante der Agnes namens Stephanía, Äbtissin von S. Maria Grandis in Jerusalem,¹⁸ darlegen lassen, daß Joscelin I., der Großvater der Agnes, und Balduin II., der Großvater Amalrichs, Vettern bzw. über ihre Mütter Enkel des Milo von Montlhéry waren. Nach kirchlicher Zählung waren Agnes und Amalrich damit im vierten Grade verwandt, so daß eine Trennung rechtens war, wenn auch in solchen Fällen oft eine Dispens erteilt wurde.

Eine entsprechende Angabe über die Verwandtschaft zwischen Agnes und Rainald macht Wilhelm von Tyrus zu unserem Leidwesen nicht. Wir sind daher auf Hypothesen angewiesen. Über seine Mutter Agnes war Rainald ein Großneffe Wilhelms de Buris, des Fürsten von Galiläa und Reichsverwesers während der Gefangenschaft Balduins II. Dessen Vater könnte nach Martin Rheinheimer ein Bruder der Mütter Joscelins I. und Balduins II. namens Guido gewesen sein, so daß auch hier eine Verwandtschaft vierten Grades bestanden hätte, wie dies der Ausdruck *non minus illicitum* nahelegt.¹⁹ Unter den von Gerhard als Gewährsleuten angeführten *maiores* würde man freilich weniger Vorfahren seiner Gattin als eigene erwarten. Da Gerhard erst im Jahre 1147 in den Quellen des Hl. Landes auftritt, nachdem vorher längere Zeit nichts über die Herrschaftsregelung in Sidon bekannt ist, hat Mayer die im einzelnen unhaltbaren Angaben der *Lignages* über eine Abstammung Gerhards von der Familie des Eustachius

¹⁶ *Les Lignages d'Outremer*, c. 18, RHC Lois 1:456.

¹⁷ Ed. R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Abhandl. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, Nr. 136 (Göttingen, 1986), S. 279, Nr. 112.

¹⁸ Sie wird bei Ducange, *Familles* (wie Anm. 11) im Abschnitt über die Grafen von Edessa nicht erwähnt, sondern S. 831 fälschlich als Schwester Fürst Rogers von Antiochia bezeichnet.

¹⁹ Vgl. M. Rheinheimer, *Das Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Galiläa* (Frankfurt a/M, 1990), S. 47f., 50, 186.

Granier verworfen.²⁰ Doch im Blick auf die erwiesene Verwandtschaft zwischen Gerhard und der Königsfamilie einerseits und der bekannten Nähe Eustach Graniers zu Balduin I. und zu Balduin II. andererseits, mußte sie nochmals erwogen werden. Auszuschließen ist freilich ebensowenig, dass Gerhards Vater oder Mutter, wenn nicht über die Graniers, so auf anderem Wege in den Umkreis der Montlhéry gehörte.

Dass Gerhard von Sidon eine eidliche Aussage gemacht habe (*proprio iureiurando firmavit*), weist auf ein formelles kirchenrechtliches Verfahren hin, in welchem er selber aufgetreten war. Damit ergibt sich ein zeitliches Problem. Er wird zuletzt im Jahre 1165²¹ erwähnt und muß vor 1174 verstorben sein, als sein Sohn als Herr von Sidon auftritt,²² wohl schon vor 1171, als dieser zum ersten Mal als *Rainaldus Sidoniensis* urkundlich erscheint.²³ Er kann daher nicht in einem Scheidungsprozeß nach 1176 bzw. 1179 als Zeuge aufgetreten sein. Zudem starb Agnes Ende 1184/Anfang 1185,²⁴ ohne daß in ihren letzten Lebensjahren eine Trennung von Rainald sichtbar würde, der erst Ende der 1180er Jahre in zweiter Ehe Helvis, eine Tochter Balian II. von Ibelin und der Königinwitwe Maria Komnene, heiratete.²⁵ Um diese Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden, hat Bernard Hamilton einen auf Betreiben Gerhards durchgeführten Prozeß zwischen 1169 und 1171, spätestens 1173 angenommen, dessen Urteil an der Kurie kassiert worden sei.²⁶ Damit konnte Agnes im Jahre 1176 als Gattin Rainalds bezeichnet werden, wobei Wilhelm von Tyrus nur am Ende des Scheidungskapitels die folgende oder beim Bericht zum Jahre 1176 die in der Zwischenzeit eingetretene Aufhebung des ersten Urteils übergangen hätte.

²⁰ *Lignages* c. 18 (wie Anm. 16) S. 456. Vgl. jetzt H. E. Mayer, 'The Wheel of Fortune. Aristocratic Vicissitudes under King Fulk and Baldwin III of Jerusalem,' *Speculum* 65 (1990), S. 860–877, S. 870–877 = idem, *Kings and Lords*, Nr. 17.

²¹ RRH Nr. 412, ed. G. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi* (Firenze, 1879), S. 11, Nr. 9. Zu Gerhard vgl. Ducange, *Familles* (wie Anm. 11), Les seigneurs de Sidon, S. 431–438, S. 431f.; J. L. La Monte, 'The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' *Byzantion* 17 (1944–1945), S. 183–211, S. 190–193.

²² RRH Nr. 517, ed. E. Strehlke, *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici*, (Berlin, 1869), S. 8, Nr. 7. Zu Rainald vgl. Ducange, *Familles* (wie Anm. 11), S. 432f.; La Monte, 'Sidon' (wie Anm. 21), S. 193–200. Er unterstützte Raimunds Bemühungen um die Regentschaft Ende 1174: WT 21.3, S. 964.

²³ RRH Nr. 487, ed. Marsy (wie Anm. 15), S. 144, Nr. 27 von 1171 Februar 4.

²⁴ Vgl. Mayer, 'Legitimität' (wie Anm. 6), S. 66 Anm. 8.

²⁵ Ducange, *Familles* (wie Anm. 11), S. 433. Die gelegentlich erst in die 1190er Jahre gelegte zweite Ehe muß vorher liegen, weil Rainald bei Verhandlungen mit Saladin im Jahre 1189 die Sicherheit seiner Gattin und seiner Kinder erörtert, vgl. z.B. Baha' al-Din, RHC Or 3:121–123, 129–132.

²⁶ B. Hamilton, 'Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100–1190),' in D. Baker (Hg.), *Medieval Women*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1 (Oxford, 1978), S. 143–178, S. 163f.; ders., 'The Titular Nobility of the Latin East: the Case of Agnes of Courtenay,' in P. W. Edbury (Hg.), *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff, 1985), S. 197–203, S. 199f.; Mayer, 'Legitimität' (wie Anm. 6), S. 65f. Bereits La Monte, 'Sidon' (wie Anm. 21), S. 199 hatte wegen Gerhards Lebensdaten die Beweiserhebung auf die Jahre 1169–1171 datiert, jedoch den Urteilsspruch erst nach 1175 (lies 1176).

Diese zweifellos ingeniöse Lösung des Problems befriedigt dennoch nicht. Es handelte sich nicht um die stets heiklen Fragen des Vollzugs der Ehe, in diesem Fall der vierten Ehe der Frau, des ehefähigen Alters, einer *reservatio mentalis* oder des fehlenden Konsenses, sondern eine vom Vater des einen Partners eidlich bezeugte zu nahe Verwandtschaft. Wie sie, von der Wilhelm zudem hinzufügt, dass sie wirklich bestanden habe (*sicut et pro certo erat*), also durch andere Zeugnisse gedeckt wurde, widerlegt werden konnte, ist nicht zu erkennen.

Eine weitere Schwierigkeit kommt hinzu. Genau genommen heißt es im Scheidungskapitel, die Ehe der Agnes mit Rainald würde als unkanonisch gelten (*dicitur habere*). Der innere Widerspruch zu der gleich folgenden eidlichen Aussage Gerhards über eine wirklich bestehende Verwandtschaft ist unübersehbar. Mit *dicitur habere* kann der unerlaubte Charakter nicht prozessual festgestellt sein. Sowohl die Ehe bestand offensichtlich noch, als Wilhelm den Satz schrieb (denn es heißt eben nicht *dicitur habuisse* oder *dicebatur habere*), als auch ihr unkanonischer Charakter. Nach einem Scheidungsprozeß hätte sie jedoch im Jahre 1176 entweder gelöst sein müssen, was sie nachweislich nicht war, oder sie hätte sich vor der Kurie als nicht *illicitum* erwiesen, so daß sie auch nicht mehr gescholten werden durfte. Doch für Wilhelm war sie bei der Niederschrift der Chronik immer noch *non minus illicitum* als jene zwischen Agnes und Amalrich, die der päpstliche Legat getrennt hatte. Schliesslich ist die auffällige Formulierung nicht zu übersehen, Gerhard sei ein *consanguineus* beider gewesen, was er zwar in üblicher Terminologie gegenüber Agnes war, aber nicht gegenüber seinem Sohn.

Es bleibt nur der Schluß, daß der Eid Gerhards über Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse, wie er sie von seinen Vorfahren her kannte, und die aus diesem Eid folgende Scheidung, von der überdies bereits vorher die Rede gewesen sein soll (*ut praelibatum est*), nicht die Scheidung von Agnes und Rainald betroffen haben kann, um so weniger als von ihr vorher nicht die Rede ist. Die *praedictae personae*, über deren Verwandtschaft Gerhard als *consanguineus utriusque* unter Eid entscheidende Aussagen machte, *unde sequutum fuit divortium*, waren jene, über deren Scheidung in der Tat weiter oben berichtet wurde, nämlich Agnes und Amalrich.

Fassen wir vorerst zusammen: die zweite Scheidung der Agnes ist ein Phantom der Forschung, ihre Ehe mit Rainald wurde nie getrennt. Völlig zu Recht schrieb Wilhelm daher *dicitur habere illicitum* und bezeichnete Agnes im Jahre 1176 als Gattin Rainalds. Als Gerhard von Sidon die Verwandtschaft zwischen Amalrich und Agnes bezeugte, indem er sich selber als Blutsverwandter beider (*consanguineus utriusque*) kundtat und dazu zweifellos die eigene Verwandtschaft mit beiden darlegte, konnte er nicht ahnen, daß eines Tages eine Ehe der Agnes mit seinem Sohn folgen würde. Deren kanonische Unzulässigkeit ergab sich freilich aus seiner Verwandtschaft zu Agnes und zu Amalrich, für Wilhelm ein willkommener Anlass, um die ihm verhasste Agnes *Deo odibilis et in extorquendo*

importuna,²⁷ die sich nach dem Tode Hugos von Ibelin sogleich mit dem Sohne eines jener Leute verband, die 1163 die Thronfolge seines Gönners Amalrich zu verhindern gesucht hatten, ein weiteres Mal in ein schlechtes Licht zu rücken.

Damit ist der letzte Satz des Kapitels kein späterer Zusatz. Er war sogar unumgänglich. Zu Beginn des Kapitels hatte Wilhelm berichtet, daß die zu nahe Verwandtschaft *in facie ecclesie per communes consanguineos sollempniter est comprobatum*. Wie in einem solchen Fall notwendig, hatte man gemeinsame Verwandte gesucht, um die Abstammung der beiden Partner bezeugen zu lassen. Eine gemeinsame Verwandte war die Äbtissin Stephania. Doch Wilhelm von Tyrus berichtet nicht, daß sie einen Eid geleistet habe. Sie kann es getan haben, sie kann aber auch in ihrem Kloster geblieben sein. Ein anderer *communis consanguineus*, eben ein *consanguineus utriusque*, war Gerhard von Sidon. Er leistete eine eidliche Aussage. Jenes *in facie ecclesie sollempniter comprobatum* entspricht dem *iureiurando firmavit*, denn es meint nichts anderes, als eine Aussage mit der Hand auf der Bibel zu bekräftigen. So gibt der letzte Satz einem der Zeugen im Scheidungsprozess von 1163 einen Namen, wie es der Leser zu Recht erwartet.

Das Kapitel war so verschachtelt gebaut, daß man den Bogen des Gedankengangs zurück zum Anfang nicht wahrnahm und *ut praelibatum est* entweder wie der altfranzösische Übersetzer unter den Tisch fallen ließ oder sich an eine Fußnote Beugnots im *Recueil* hielt: 'Id est eodem modo quo supradictum est de soluto matrimonio Amalrici regis et eiusdem Agnetis.'²⁸ 'Eodem modo' führt zwingend zu einem zweiten Scheidungsprozeß. Es steht jedoch nicht in der Chronik, wird aber durch die altfranzösische Übersetzung scheinbar gestützt. Denn mit der Einfügung eines von der Vorlage nicht gedeckten *puis* spricht sie von zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Scheidungen, wobei Gerhard das entscheidende Zeugnis für die zweite gab.²⁹ Von der altfranzösischen Fassung über Ducange und Beugnots — falsche — Erläuterung ist diese Interpretation in die englische Übersetzung eingegangen. Daß Babcock und Krey entweder *secutum* mit *secundum* verwechselten oder stillschweigend eine Konjektur vornahmen — etwa in der Annahme eines verlorenen Kürzungsstriches über dem *u*, wodurch freilich die sehr harte Ausdrucksweise zustande käme *unde secundum fuit divortium?* — und daher von einem 'second annulment' sprachen, ließ diese Interpretation zur *opinio communis* der Forschung werden.³⁰ Wilhelm von Tyrus schrieb jedoch, der Aussage Gerhards — im Prozess von 1163 — sei die Scheidung, nämlich zwischen Agnes und Amalrich, gefolgt, nicht, es habe eine zweite Scheidung zwischen Agnes und Rainald gegeben. So hatten E. und R. Kausler vor 150 Jahren den Text völlig korrekt ins Deutsche übersetzt: 'Herr Gerhard nemlich, der Vater Herrn Rainalds, war ein Verwandter von dem König

²⁷ WT 22.9, S. 1019.

²⁸ RHC Occ 1:890 Anm. 3.

²⁹ S. Anm. 9.

³⁰ *A History of Deeds* (wie Anm. 10), S. 302.

und der Königin, und bestätigte die Verwandtschaft dieser beiden Personen, wie er dieß von seinen Voreltern gehört, und wie es sich wirklich so verhielt, durch einen körperlichen Eid, weßwegen diese Ehe auch geschieden wurde, wie dieß schon vorher gesagt wurde.³¹

Die ungleiche Behandlung der Ehe der Agnes mit Amalrich und derjenigen mit Rainald, die nicht weniger unkanonisch war, zeigt in geradezu klassischer Weise, wie sehr es im kanonischen Eherecht auf das Auftreten — oder Nichtauftreten — eines Klägers ankam. Gegen die Ehe der Agnes mit Rainald gab es keine Klage, obwohl Wilhelm von Tyrus gewiss nicht als einziger aus den Aussagen Gerhards im Prozess von 1163 den Schluß zog, daß damit auch der unerlaubte Charakter der Ehe der Agnes mit Rainald erwiesen sei. Diese Verwandtschaft war im Gegensatz zur Ehe der Agnes mit Amalrich aufgrund des Prozesses des Jahres 1163 von Anfang an manifest. Gerhard hätte gegen die Ehe seines Sohnes mit Agnes Einspruch erheben müssen. Da dies offensichtlich nicht erfolgte, wird es unwahrscheinlich, daß er im Augenblick des Eheschlusses noch lebte.³²

II

Das Ergebnis unserer bisherigen Überlegungen hat Folgen für die Beurteilung der Thronfolgekrise des Jahres 1163. An der Krönung am 18. Februar beteiligten sich nur wenige Barone: *favente potissimum clero et populo paucisque de magnatibus*. Die Gegner Amalrichs waren freilich uneins: *dissonantibus inter se de regis substitutione aliter et aliter affectis*.³³ Neben den Ibelins, für die der Konflikt zu einer wichtigen Stufe des Aufstiegs wurde, da Hugo künftig die Mutter des präsumptiven Thronfolgers zur Gattin hatte, wie ein Jahrzehnt später sein Bruder Balian die Kaisernichte und Königinwitwe Maria Komnene heiratete, läßt sich nun Gerhard von Sidon als Gegner der von Balduin III. gewünschten Regelung namentlich festmachen. Als Verwandter der Königsfamilie mußte er besonderes Gewicht haben, denn er lieferte aus der Großfamilie selbst ein entscheidendes Zeugnis, um das offizielle Kriterium der Unrechtmässigkeit der Ehe zu beweisen. Seine Mitwirkung war ein freier Entschluss. Niemand konnte ihn zwingen, sich als Zeuge zur Verfügung zu stellen und vor allem ein so gutes

³¹ *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge und des Königreichs Jerusalem*. Aus dem Lateinischen des Erzbischofs Wilhelm von Tyrus von E. und R. Kausler (Stuttgart, 1840), S. 504.

³² Wenn La Monte, 'Sidon' (wie Anm. 21), S. 192 den Tod Gerhards wegen der Ehe Rainalds mit Agnes und der Scheidung auf 1169 bis 1171 legt, so mußte er wohl vor der Eheschließung gestorben sein. Zum kirchlichen Eherecht im 12. Jahrhundert vgl. Jean Dauvillier, *Le mariage dans le droit classique de l'Eglise depuis le Décret de Gratien (1140) jusqu'à la mort de Clément V (1314)* (Paris, 1933), S. 148, 203.

³³ WT 19.1, S. 864; Ernoul, S. 16f.; *Cont. WT*, c. 3, S. 19; vgl. dazu J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100–1291* (Cambridge/Mass., 1932), S. 19; R. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem 1100–1291* (Innsbruck, 1898), S. 311f.; R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1934–1936), 2:436ff.

Gedächtnis zu haben, um die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse, *sicut a maioribus audierat*, detailliert darzulegen. Gegen ungewollte und erst recht gegen gewollte Erinnerungslücken kam man auch im Mittelalter nicht an. Gerhard legte also bewußt gegen Amalrich Zeugnis ein.

Ob die Ibelins eine Thronfolge Amalrichs verhindern oder nur seine Stellung schwächen wollten, eventuell durch eine Erhebung des bei der Taufe von Balduin III. scherzhaft mit dem Königreich beschenkten Balduin IV.,³⁴ was eine Regentschaft notwendig gemacht hätte, wissen wir nicht. Doch neben ihnen gab es andere, die wesentlich weiter gingen.

Sowohl für einen Regenten als auch für einen als Alternative zu Amalrich und Balduin IV. erhobenen König galt die Voraussetzung einer Verwandtschaft mit der Königsfamilie. Hielt man Amalrich wegen der Bigamie auch für eine Regentschaft als nicht *idoneus*, so blieben in beiden Fällen als Anwärter an erster und zweiter Stelle je nach der Berechnungsweise Fürst Bohemund III. von Antiochia und Graf Raimund III. von Tripolis, jener ein Enkel der zweiten Tochter Balduins II., dieser ein Sohn seiner dritten Tochter. Bohemund kam, wie Mayer gezeigt hat, kaum in Frage, sondern vermutlich war Raimund in Betracht gezogen worden.³⁵ Zieht man den Kreis weiter, so standen an dritter und vierter Stelle unter den Baronen des lateinischen Ostens agnatisch gleich weit oder nah der Bruder der Agnes, Joscelin III. — und Gerhard von Sidon. Der erstere schied aus, weil er sich seit 1160 in Aleppo in Gefangenschaft befand,³⁶ dieser dagegen war ein Baron aus dem Königreich. Auch für die Regentschaft war er der nächste männliche Verwandte Balduins IV. im Königreich. Man konnte das im Jahre 1118 festgelegte Prinzip des entfernteren, aber anwesenden statt des näheren, aber nicht anwesenden Verwandten weiter ausbauen und nicht nur den Westen dem lateinischen Osten, sondern schon das Königreich den anderen Kreuzfahrerstaaten gegenüberstellen.³⁷ Dann blieb Gerhard von Sidon der einzige Kandidat. Wir kennen die Überlegungen der im Februar 1163 über die Nachfolge beratenden, aber uneinigen Barone nicht. Auszuschließen ist nicht, daß Gerhard eigene Ambitionen förderte, als er gegen Amalrich und Agnes in den Zeugenstand trat. Doch der Klerus sprach sich unter der Vorbedingung der Scheidung für Amalrich aus und kam mit einer 'plötzlichen' Krönung³⁸ einem Beschluß der Opposition zuvor. Wie von Balduin III. gewünscht, wurde Amalrich der fünfte lateinische König von Jerusalem, Raimund III. dagegen blieb Graf von Tripolis und Gerhard Herr von Sidon.

³⁴ WT 18.29, S. 854, auch 19.4, S. 888. Vgl. *Cont. WT* (wie Anm. 33), S. 19. Mayer, 'Beginnings' (wie Anm. 5) hat diese Alternative nicht erörtert.

³⁵ Wie Anm. 7.

³⁶ Seine Ansprüche leiteten sich nicht aus der Stellung als Bruder der Agnes ab, was eine kognatische Verwandtschaft war, sondern agnatisch über den Ururgrossvater Hugo von Monthéry.

³⁷ Wie Anm. 3.

³⁸ WT 19.1, S. 864: *subito ... sublimatus est*.

III

Offen bleibt, was Gerhard dazu bewogen hatte, gegen Amalrich Zeugnis abzulegen. Aus orientalischen Chroniken erfährt man, daß Anfang der 1160er Jahre ein hoher Franke in Konflikt mit dem König geriet. Laut der armenischen Übersetzung der Chronik des Michael Syrus wurde er nach Piraterie, die sich mehr gegen Christen als gegen Muslims richtete, vom König zum Verlassen des Reiches gezwungen und erhielt darauf vom Fürsten von Antiochia die Festung Baghras. Wiederum wegen Plünderungen vertrieben, ging er zu Nur al-Din, versprach ihm den Küstenstreifen und bekam türkische Hilfstruppen. Doch diese wurden geschlagen, der 'Brigant' in Ketten gelegt, nach Jerusalem gebracht und zum Tod durch Feuer verurteilt.³⁹

Die armenische Übersetzung des Michael Syrus und der kürzere Bericht des arabischen Historikers Ibn al-Athir nennen diesen Franken ausdrücklich den Herrn von Sidon, jene gibt auch den Namen Gerhard.⁴⁰ Es handelt sich also um den Zeugen im Scheidungsprozeß gegen Amalrich. Unhaltbar ist daher die Darstellung bei Bar Hebraeus mit einem Feuertod im Jahre 1161 oder 1162, da Gerhard, wie wir bereits wissen, bis ins Jahr 1165 nachweisbar bleibt. Vermutlich ist aus der Nachricht über eine Verurteilung ein vollstrecktes Urteil abgeleitet worden.⁴¹ In Wirklichkeit müßte entweder eine Begnadigung gefolgt sein oder es verbirgt sich dahinter ein Gottesurteil, das Gerhard allerdings siegreich überstanden hätte. Wie immer der Bericht der beiden syrischen Chronisten vielleicht etwas ausgeschmückt ist, das Gerhard angelastete Zusammenspiel mit Nur al-Din findet eine Parallele in der Beschuldigung des Mauritius von Montréal während der Belagerung Askalons im Jahre 1153, er habe oft die christliche Sache

³⁹ Armenische Übersetzung des Michael Syrus, RHC DArm 1:354f. Im syrischen Original fehlt der Abschnitt über diese Jahre, der in der Übersetzung von J.-B. Chabot, *La chronique de Michel le Syrien* (Paris, 1899–1925), 3, S. 318 mit der Chronik des Bar Hebraeus überbrückt wird, vgl. Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, ed. E. A. W. Budge (Oxford, 1932), S. 287: *And in that year there was a certain Frank who was a robber in Baghras, and because the Franks wanted to seize him, he fled and went to Nur ad-Din; and he took Turks and came to plunder the country of Antioch. And the Franks laid an ambush for him and captured him and burned him in the fire.* Da die anonyme syrische Chronik über den Vorfall nichts bringt, läßt sich nicht feststellen, ob der armenische Übersetzer den Text ausgeschmückt hat. Ibn al-Athir, RHC Or 1: 522f., schreibt am Ende der Jahresnotiz von 556 H.: *Le prince franc de Saïda vint trouver Nour-eddin Mahmoud pour lui demander un asile. Nour-eddin lui accorda l'aman et fit partir avec lui une armée destinée à le défendre contre les Francs. Mais un nombreux détachement de ceux-ci l'attaqua et en tua une partie. Le reste prit la fuite.* N. Elisséeff, *Nur-ad-Din. Un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades* (Damas, 1967), 2, S. 585 spricht von einer 'anecdote'. Vgl. jetzt H. E. Mayer, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Šöbak). Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1990), S. 135–138.

⁴⁰ La Monte, 'Sidon' (wie Anm. 21), S. 192 behauptet fälschlich, daß bei Bar Hebraeus (vgl. Anm. 39), der nur von einem 'certain Frank' spricht, Amalrich als der fränkische König genannt würde. Er glaubt an eine falsche Identifizierung mit Gerhard, doch diese wird durch Ibn al-Athir bestätigt (wie Anm. 39).

⁴¹ Vgl. Bar Hebraeus wie Anm. 39. Röhrich, *Königreich* (wie Anm. 33), S. 311 ging wohl zu weit, als er schrieb: 'Allein die ganze Erzählung ist sagenhaft.'

verlassen und mit ihm — Mauritius — zusammen den Sarazenen aus Gewinnsucht gegen Geld Christen verkauft.⁴² Beides, Seeräuberei und das Zusammenwirken mit den Muslims, trugen dem Herrn von Sidon das moderne Urteil als 'eine an Ruchlosigkeit (dem Andronikos Komnenos) ähnliche Natur' ein.⁴³ Doch Beziehungen über die Kulturgrenze hinweg wurden Familientradition, denn Gerhards Sohn Rainald, der letzte Gatte der Agnes, war später seinerseits ein gern gesehener Gast Saladins und der arabischen Sprache so mächtig, daß er dort über Dichtung und Religion diskutierte.⁴⁴

Freilich bereitet der zeitliche Ablauf erhebliche Probleme. Am 29. November 1159⁴⁵ und am 26. Juli 1160 begegnet Gerhard am Hofe Balduins III.,⁴⁶ dann erst wieder im Jahre 1164 und 1165 am Hofe Amalrichs, so daß der Konflikt mit allen folgenden Ereignissen in die Zeit zwischen Sommer 1160 und Anfang 1163 fallen könnte. Seit langem hat man jedoch mit ihm eine Urkunde zusammengebracht, die Balduin III. am 16. März 1160 bei der Belagerung der Burg Belhacem (*in obsidione Blahasent*) im Territorium von Sidon zeigt und in der Gerhard nicht auftritt.⁴⁷ Und noch erstaunlicher befand er sich auch am 28. Januar 1160, als der König in Sidon selbst weilte, nicht unter den Zeugen.⁴⁸ Umso mehr fällt daher seine Anwesenheit am Hofe einige Monate später im Juli 1160 auf. Die Zeitspanne von März bis Juli, erst recht von Ende November 1159 bis Januar 1160 reicht nicht aus für die geschilderten Verwicklungen, die zudem bei Bar Hebraeus, der den verlorenen Originaltext Michaels zur Vorlage hatte, auf das Jahr der Griechen 1472 (Oktober 1160–Oktober 1161) und bei Ibn al-Athir auf A.H. 556 (21.12.1161–10.12.1162) gelegt werden. Es würde freilich mittelalterlicher Konfliktlösung entsprechen, wenn nach einer militärischen Auseinandersetzung Anfang 1160 im Juli eine vorher abgesprochene Unterwerfung erfolgt wäre, die eine Verbannung nach sich zog. Wie das zweite Verfahren mit der angeblichen Verurteilung zum Feuertod einzuordnen wäre, bleibt unklar. Am Hofe Balduins III. erscheint Gerhard jedenfalls nicht mehr. Welch wichtige Rolle er jedoch wenig später in der Thronfolgekriese spielte, haben wir gesehen.

⁴² *Annales Egmondenses* in MGH SS 16:460 und ed. O. Oppermann, *Fontes Egmondenses* (Utrecht, 1931), S. 162f.

⁴³ Röhrich, *Königreich* (wie Anm. 33), S. 331 Anm. 1.

⁴⁴ Baha' al-Din (wie Anm. 25), S. 121f., vgl. ebd. S. 36.

⁴⁵ RRH Nr. 325, ed. in *Cart Hosp* 1:195, Nr. 258 und RRH Nr. 355, ebd. 1:216, Nr. 296, bei Röhrich zu 1160, aber wegen der Indiktion VIII und des stellvertretenden Kanzlers Stephan zu 1159.

⁴⁶ RRH Nr. 354; ed. in *Cart St Sép*, S. 126, Nr. 45.

⁴⁷ RRH Nr. 344, ed. S. Pauli, *Codice diplomatico dell'ordine gerosolimitano* (Lucca, 1733–37), 1:50, Nr. 50.

⁴⁸ RRH Nr. 341, ed. Strehlke, *Tabulae* (wie Anm. 22), S. 2, Nr. 2.

IV

Noch einmal begegnet Gerhard in den 1160er Jahre in herausragender Position. Über die Entstehung der *Assise sur la ligesse*, des berühmtesten Gesetzes des lateinischen Ostens, das im 13. Jahrhundert, wie Prawer und Riley-Smith gezeigt haben, den Baronen das Instrument in die Hand gab, jene Adelsrepublik anzustreben, die zu Unrecht als Grundstruktur der Kreuzfahrerstaaten seit ihrer Gründung angesehen worden ist,⁴⁹ berichtet Jean d'Ibelin, daß der Herr von Sidon einem seiner Vasallen das Lehen entzog. Gegen das rechtswidrig, weil ohne Gerichtsverfahren, erfolgte Vorgehen appellierte der Vasall an den König, der das Verfahren an sich zog und militärisch gegen den Herrn von Sidon voring. Nach einem Urteil der Haute Cour mit allen direkten Kronvasallen mußte sich dieser unterwerfen und dem Vasallen das Lehen zurückgeben. Für die Zukunft erklärte eine neue Assise, eben die *Assise sur la ligesse*, solche Appelle als grundsätzlich zulässig.⁵⁰

Gegen den Wortlaut der Gesetzbücher, die von einer Assise *dou roi Amauri* sprechen, hat Jean Richard als Urheber Balduin III. erwogen, weil der Konflikt zwischen dem König und dem Herrn von Sidon um 1160/61 wohl nicht ohne Zusammenhang mit einem Konflikt zwischen dem Herrn von Sidon und einem seiner Vasallen gestanden habe.⁵¹ Das ist keineswegs zwingend, sondern beide Vorgänge zeigen nur, daß der Herr von Sidon sich gegen aussen und gegenüber seinen Vasallen weitgehend autonom fühlte. Andererseits hat Joshua Prawer die Entstehungsgeschichte überhaupt als unwahrscheinlich bezeichnet, denn der König hätte kaum wegen einer 'justice abstraite' den Aufwand eines Feldzuges gegen einen der großen Barone unternommen.⁵²

Der hier genannte Herr von Sidon war niemand anders als jener Gerhard, der im Jahre 1163 gegen Amalrich Zeugnis abgelegt hatte. Daher erhält der Konflikt zwischen König, Herrn von Sidon und Vasall und damit die Entstehungsgeschichte der Assise ein neues Gesicht. Das Argument der 'justice abstraite' entfällt. Wie fast alle mittelalterlichen Gesetze konkreten Streitfällen entsprangen, kann man

⁴⁹ J. Prawer, 'Crusader Nobility and the Feudal System,' in ders., *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), S. 20–54, S. 36–44; J. Riley-Smith, 'The *Assise sur la ligèce* and the Commune of Acre,' *Traditio* 27 (1971), 179–204.

⁵⁰ *Le Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, c. 140, in RHC Lois 1:214f. Vgl. M. Grandclaude, 'Liste d'Assises remontant au premier royaume de Jérusalem (1099–1187),' in *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (Paris, 1929), S. 339 Anm. 44 und J. Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), S. 78, 81.

⁵¹ J. Richard, 'Pairie d'Orient latin: les quatre baronnies des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre,' *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4e S. 28 (1950), S. 76f. = ders., *Orient et Occident au moyen âge: contacts et relations (XII^e–XV^e s.)* (London, 1976), Nr. 15; ders., in *A History of the Crusades* 5 (Madison/Wisc., 1985), S. 213–215 wieder eher für Amalrich; J. Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277* (London, 1973), S. 34, wahrscheinlich Balduin III.

⁵² Prawer, 'Crusader Nobility' (wie Anm. 49), S. 37. Er lehnt den Bericht ab (S. 36f.), weil die Entstehungsgeschichte den König in einer zu starken Position gegenüber den Vasallen zeige.

für die *Assise sur la ligesse* durchaus den Angaben von Jean d'Idbelin folgen, nur hatte der Konflikt eine dort nicht aufgegriffene Dimension.

Wegen seiner Intervention in der kirchenrechtlichen Frage der Ehe Amalrichs war Gerhard unmittelbar unangreifbar. Er hatte nur die Wahrheit kundgetan. Daß der König auf Dauer darüber hinweggegangen sein sollte, ist von vorneherein unwahrscheinlich. Gegen die Idbelins konnte er nichts unternehmen, denn die Ehe der Agnes gab ihnen eine Art Sicherheitspfand in die Hand. Gerhard dagegen hatte wahrscheinlich an Plänen mitgewirkt, die Amalrich des Thrones ganz berauben sollten, wenn nicht gar selber die Hand nach der Krone ausgestreckt. Den dadurch entstandenen politischen Gegensatz konnte man bei passender Gelegenheit auf einer anderen Ebene aufgreifen. Der Streit Gerhards mit seinem Vasallen gab die Möglichkeit. Dem König gelang es, die Haute Cour davon zu überzeugen, daß Gerhard gegen Recht verstoßen habe. Es war gewiß nicht der erste Konflikt zwischen einem Kronvasallen und einem Aftervasallen gewesen und nicht das erste Mal, daß der König von einem solchen erfuhr. Doch nun war die Gelegenheit gekommen, dem entfernten Vetter die Haltung in der Thronfolgefrage zu vergelten, wie dieser damals seine Vertreibung aus dem Königreich nicht vergessen hatte.

Eine genaue zeitliche Zuordnung der *Assise* ist nicht möglich. Gerhard stellte im Jahre 1163 und 1164 eigene Urkunden aus und war 1164 und 1165 am Hofe.⁵³ Seine letzte Erwähnung erfolgt am 15. März 1165.⁵⁴ Der Konflikt, der zur *Assise sur la ligesse* geführt hat, dürfte daher nach dem März 1165 liegen, doch könnte er auch in das Intervall Juli 1164 und März 1165 gehören.

In jedem Fall handelt es sich wie im Verhältnis Amalrichs zu den Idbelins auch in demjenigen Gerhards zur Königsfamilie nicht um einen einmaligen Zusammenstoß, sondern um einen sich hinziehenden Schlagabtausch. Nach Anschuldigungen, die schon 1153 wegen Zusammenarbeit mit den Muslims erhoben wurden, aber folgenlos geblieben waren, ging der König nach Piraterieakten Anfang 1160 gegen Gerhard vor. Dieser mußte sich vermutlich einem förmlichen Verfahren vor der Haute Cour stellen und sicher das Reich verlassen. Sein Versuch, sich mit muslimischer Hilfe eine unabhängige Stellung zu schaffen, mißlang, wenn er auch nicht auf dem Scheiterhaufen endete. Er überstand die Krise und griff 1163 in die Regelung der Thronfolge in entscheidender Weise ein. Einige Zeit darauf stellte sich der König in einem Konflikt Gerhards mit einem Vasallen auf die Seite des letzteren und zwang Gerhard zur Unterwerfung, was den Anstoß zur *Assise sur la ligesse* gab. So wäre die Frage zu stellen, ob sich Rainald von Sidon als nächsten Schritt mit seiner Ehe mit Agnes nicht seinerseits eine Rückversicherung verschaffte. Es

⁵³ RRH Nr. 376b, ed. in *Cart Hosp* 1:218, Nr. 302, gehört in die Zeit nach 19. Februar bis Ende März 1163; dann noch dreimal in RRH Nr. 393c von 1164 Jan. 4, ed. Ch. Kohler, 'Chartes de Terre Sainte,' *ROL* 7 (1900), S. 145 Nr. 36, Nr. 400 von 1164 Juli 16, Amalrich für das Hl. Grab, ed. in *Cart St Sép*, S. 266, Nr. 135, und RRH Nr. 412 (wie Anm. 21).

⁵⁴ RRH Nr. 412 (wie Anm. 21).

fällt jedenfalls auf, daß ihre beiden letzten Ehepartner die Häupter der baronialen Opposition des Jahres 1163 waren und das erste Auftreten Rainalds als Herr von Sidon kurz nach der Ehe mit ihr erfolgte.

Einmal mehr stehen wir vor jener Verzahnung von Recht und Politik, die im Mittelalter seit der Geschichte vom Topf von Soissons⁵⁵ immer wieder begegnet und wenige Jahre nach 1163 den Prozeß gegen Heinrich den Löwen bestimmt, um nur zwei Beispiele zu nennen. Zu ihnen gehört auch die Auseinandersetzung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem mit den Herren von Sidon. Im Unterschied zum Frühmittelalter saßen, wie der Fall Gerhards trotz der in den orientalischen Quellen behaupteten Verbrennung und das Schicksal des Welfen beweist, im 12. Jahrhundert die Köpfe etwas fester auf dem Nacken. Von der politischen Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalems her vermochte sich Amalrich, was noch zu wenig gewürdigt worden ist, nach der Krise des Jahres 1163 in erstaunlichem Masse durchzusetzen. Auf welchem Wege er die Barone zu beugen verstand, so daß sie einem Vorgehen gegen Gerhard von Sidon zustimmten, lassen die Quellen freilich nicht mehr erkennen.

⁵⁵ Gregor von Tours, *Historiae* 2.27, in MGH SRM ²1, S. 72f.

The Castle and Lordship of Mirabel

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Edinburgh

History

The remains of the medieval castle of Mirabel stand amid the ruins of the former predominantly Muslim village of Majdal Yaba, or Majdal Sadiq, which, abandoned since 1948, covers a low hill some 20 km north-north-east of Ramla, overlooking the Sharon plain from the edge of the hills of Samaria (Palestine Grid ref. 1464.1650). The site is identified with that of the Tower of Aphek (πύργος Ἀφεκοῦ) that was taken and burnt by Cestius Gallus in AD 66.¹ At the time of the Jewish revolt this was evidently a dependency of Antipatris, the city which Herod the Great had earlier founded on the site of Biblical Aphek (today Tel Aphek, or Ras al-'Ain) and had named after his father.²

In Roman times the natural strategic importance of Antipatris at the head of the River Yaqon (known later in Arabic as the Nahr al-'Auja), was enhanced by the construction under Trajan of a road linking Jerusalem by way of Jifna and 'Abud with the ancient route, the so-called *Via Maris*, that ran north-south along the eastern edge of the coastal plain; from this route the Roman road diverged north-west at Kiludiya (Grid ref. 146.186), south of Qalansuwa, to reach the provincial capital, Caesarea.³ However, despite its important situation, Antipatris had declined by AD 333 to the status of a road station (*mutatio*);⁴ and to Jerome, writing towards the end of the same century, it appeared as no more than 'a half-ruined little town' (*oppidulum semidirutum*),⁵ though it is recorded as having had a bishop in the fifth and sixth centuries.⁶

The strategic significance of the position was also well appreciated in post-Roman times. Battles were fought at the crossing of the Nahr al-'Auja, or Nahr Abu

¹ Josephus, *The Jewish War*, 2.513, trans. G.A. Williamson (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 165.

² F.M. Abel, 'Mirabel et la tour d'Aphek,' *Revue biblique* 36 (1927), 390-400. Idem, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1967), 2: 245-246. Y. Tsafrir, L. di Segni and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea. Palaestina. Eretz-Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 5 maps and gazetteer (Jerusalem, 1994), p. 63.

³ M. Avi-Yonah, *Map of Roman Palestine*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1940), pp. 42-43. Abel, *Géographie* 2:224-225. Cf. Acts 23. 31; Tsafrir et al., *Tabula Imperii Romani*, map 2.

⁴ *Itinerarium Burdigalensium*, ed. P. Geyer and O. Kuntz, *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 175 (Turnhout, 1975), pp. 1-26.

⁵ *Epistulae*, 108.8, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 55:313. Cf. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), pp. 47, 150.

⁶ Abel, *Géographie* 2:245-246.

Futrus (Antipatris River), in 750, 884 and 975;⁷ and in 864 Ibn Khurradadhbih also mentions al-'Auja (Antipatris) as a road station on the coastal route between Damascus and Cairo.⁸

In October or November 1100, Baldwin of Boulogne appears to have passed through Antipatris when travelling south from Arsuf to Jaffa.⁹ This may seem an unlikely route for him to have taken until it is realized that at the time of year in question the lower course of the Nahr al-'Auja would very probably have been in flood, so that only the bridges over the upper headwaters would have been passable.¹⁰ A similar detour may have been made by the German pilgrim Thietmar in 1217.¹¹ It was probably therefore for strategic as well as for territorial considerations that a castle was constructed in the area sometime in the first half of the twelfth century. Unlike the later Mamluk and Ottoman forts, however, which were located on the tell at Ras al-'Ain itself, the Frankish castle was sited on higher, more naturally defensible ground at Majdal Yaba, some 4 km to the south-east (see fig. 1).

This castle, known as Mirabel, formed the centre of a lordship,¹² the boundaries of which included in the later twelfth century al-'Auja (Ras al-'Ain) itself (*les Loges, turoni* <um> *ad surdos fontes*, Grid ref. 143.168),¹³ Qula (*Cola, Chola*, Grid ref. 145.160),¹⁴ 'Abud (*Casale S. Mariae*, Grid ref. 156.158),¹⁵ Khirbat Susya (*Luceri, Lucerie*, Grid ref. 157.165), *Marescalcie* (unlocated), Rantiya (*Rentie*, Grid ref. 142.161),¹⁶ *Kafreherre* (*Casreherre*, unidentified, but possibly *Caphaer*/Kafr ad-Dik, Grid ref. 158.163),¹⁷ the mills at al-Mirr, below Mirabel

⁷ G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), pp. 55–56.

⁸ R. Hartmann, 'Die Strasse von Damaskus nach Kairo,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 64 (1910), 665–702 (at pp. 674–679).

⁹ FC 2.3.12, p. 367.

¹⁰ Cf. G. Beyer, 'Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas,' *ZDPV* 68 (1951), 148–281 (fig. at p. 182).

¹¹ *Mag. Thietmari Peregrinatio*, 8.47, ed. J.C.M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), p. 24. Cf. Beyer, 'Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas,' p. 169 n. 142. It may be noted, however, that William of Tyre was under the misapprehension that *Arsur* had formerly been called *Antipatris* (WT 9.19, p. 446); in fact its classical name was *Apollonia*.

¹² On which, see Beyer, 'Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas,' pp. 152, 167, 169–171, 187–192, 249–254; idem, 'Das Gebiet der Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Caesarea in Palästina,' *ZDPV* 59 (1936), 1–91 (at pp. 81–82); idem, 'Neapolis und sein Gebiet in der Kreuzfahrerzeit,' *ZDPV* 63 (1940), 155–209 (at p. 196); idem, 'Die Kreuzfahrergebiete von Jerusalem und St Abraham,' *ZDPV* 65 (1942), 165–211 (at p. 178).

¹³ RRH nos. 358, 360 (1159–60), 1370 (1269). *Cart St Sép* pp. 139–142, nos. 52–53 (1159–60).

¹⁴ *Cart Hosp* 1:431–434, no. 607; RRH no. 603 (1181).

¹⁵ RRH no. 433 (1167). RRH Add no. 457a (1168). *Cart Hosp* 1: 255–256, no. 371 (1167); 265, no. 388 (1168). D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 1 (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 17–18. Beyer, 'Kreuzfahrergebiete von Jerusalem und St Abraham,' p. 178.

¹⁶ RRH no. 423 (1166); cf. no. 100 (forgery).

¹⁷ *Ibid.* The identification of *Kafreherre* with Kafr Haris (Grid ref. 163.169), made by J. Prawer and M. Benvenisti ('Palestine of the Crusaders,' *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem/Amsterdam 1970), sheet IX/10), seems implausible, as Kafr Haris lay in the territory of Nablus and not in the diocese of Lydda as the document implies (cf. Beyer, 'Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas,' pp. 253–254).

(*molendina desubter Mirabellum*, Grid ref. 142.168), possibly the adjoining *terra Spinae*,¹⁸ and very probably also Rantis (*Rantis*, Grid ref. 152.159) and al-Luban (*Luban*, Grid. ref. 153.160).¹⁹

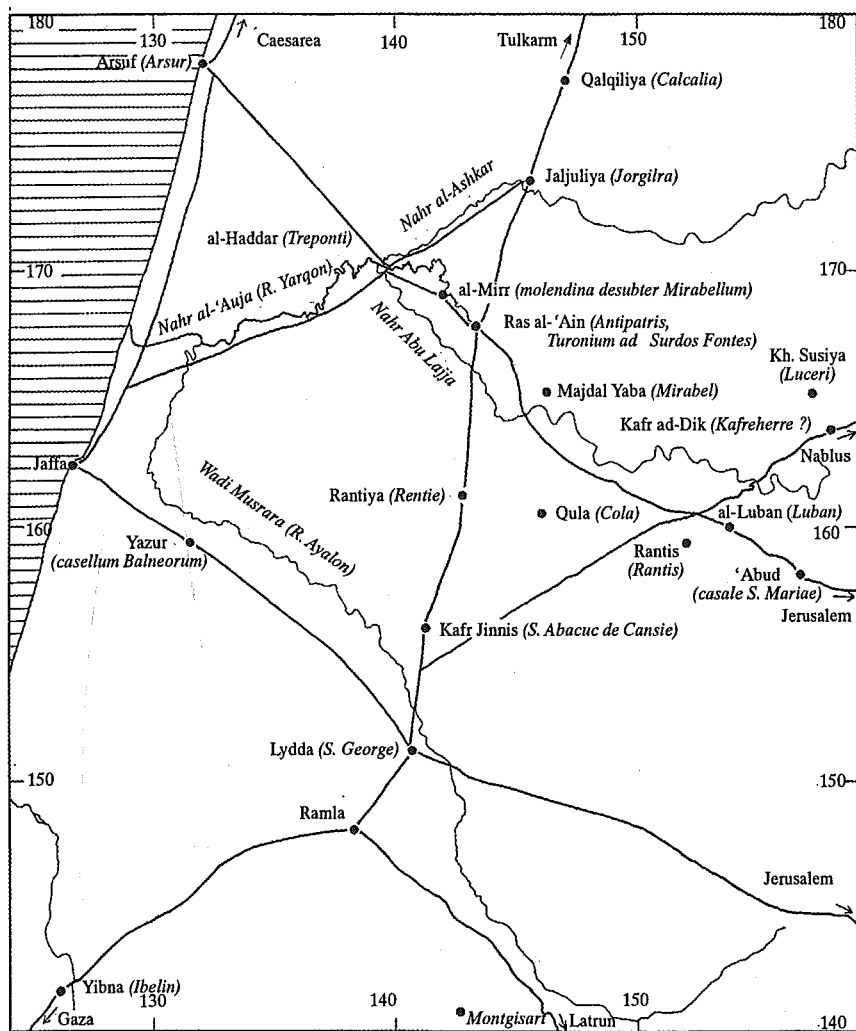


Fig. 1. Map showing the location of Mirabel (Majdal Yaba) and other places mentioned in the text.

n.106). *Caphaer* (or *Cafferus*), on the other hand, was sold by Baldwin of Mirabel (and Ramla) to the Hospital in 1175 (*Cart Hosp* 1: nos. 470, 487–489, 494; RRH nos. 533, 547; RRH Add nos. 530a, 530c; cf. Beyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 250 n. 81).

¹⁸ RRH no. 330 (1158–59). Beyer, 'Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas,' pp. 189–191, 254.

¹⁹ Beyer, 'Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas,' pp. 253–255. Cf. Pringle, *Churches* 1:104.

According to John of Ibelin, writing in the thirteenth century, Mirabel was one of three lordships that were included in the county of Jaffa and Ascalon, the others being Ramla and Ibelin (Yibna).²⁰ In the list of places owing sergeant service he groups Mirabel together with Ramla and Ibelin as owing 150 sergeants in total.²¹ It is clear, however, even from John of Ibelin's retrospective viewpoint that these three lordships had not been of equal standing; for in the list for knight service Mirabel is grouped with Ramla as owing forty knights, compared to Ibelin's ten,²² and while Ramla and Ibelin are each mentioned as having a burgess court Mirabel apparently had none.²³ Two interrelated questions may therefore be posed: When was the castle of Mirabel built? And when, and for how long, was it the centre of an independent lordship?

According to Meron Benvenisti, by 1122 Mirabel was already the centre of a fief whose lord was Balian the Elder, constable of Jaffa.²⁴ Although Benvenisti cites no evidence for this assertion, it seems likely that his source is a charter purporting to be of that date, which records a grant of land and tithes in the lordship of Mirabel made by Balian (I), constable of Jaffa, and confirmed by his sons Hugh of Ramla, Baldwin, lord of Mirabel, and Balian.²⁵ However, as Hans Mayer has shown,²⁶ this charter is a forgery, made probably in or around 1166 when Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Mirabel, issued what purported to be a confirmation of it.²⁷

In the light of this revelation, Stephen Tibble has proposed instead that the lordship of Mirabel was established by King Fulk between 1134 and 1143, and that the king granted it to Balian I of Ibelin after the suppression of the revolt of Hugh, count of Jaffa, with the dual purpose of reducing the power of any future count and of bringing the military effectives of the county more directly under royal control.²⁸ Some support for this view may be found in the *Lignages d'Outremer*, which records that after fortifying Ibelin Fulk gave it to Balian, 'and also Mirabel and as much land as he had for the service of ten knights' (*si li dona et Mirabel auci, et tant de terre que il ot pour le service de diz chevaliers*).²⁹ The *Lignages*, however, was compiled in the fourteenth century and is notoriously unreliable as a source for the twelfth. Indeed, Tibble does not even refer to it in this instance, but instead cites as evidence for Balian I's control of Mirabel a

²⁰ *Le Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, ch. 269, RHC Lois 1: 417.

²¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 272, p. 427.

²² *Ibid.*, ch. 271, p. 422.

²³ *Ibid.*, ch. 270, p. 419.

²⁴ *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 194–196.

²⁵ RRH no. 100. *Cart Hosp* 1:49, no. 59.

²⁶ 'Carving up Crusaders: The Early Ibelins and Ramlas,' in *Outremer*, pp. 101–118 (at pp. 110–114).

²⁷ RRH no. 423. *Cart Hosp* 1:245, no. 354.

²⁸ *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 45–46, 50–51, 93. This interpretation is also followed by H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 38.

²⁹ *Les Lignages d'Outremer*, ch. 8, RHC Lois 2: 448.

charter of November 1163, in which Hugh confirmed what his father and mother had given the Hospital in the territory of Mirabel,³⁰ and another of January 1168 (or 1169), in which Balian's son, Hugh of Ibelin, with the consent of his mother, settled a dispute that had arisen in former times between his father and the Hospital over lands between the mills below Mirabel and the land of *Spina*.³¹ These charters, however, provide no proof that Mirabel was a separate lordship from Ramla at the time of Balian I or that Balian ever held Mirabel, or for that matter Ramla, in his own right. Indeed, such evidence as there is points to what later became the lordship of Mirabel having been part of the lordship of Ramla and having remained such until c. 1162.

In 1137–38 Balian I had married Helvis, the daughter of Baldwin, lord of Ramla. Helvis inherited the lordship of Ramla on her father's death around 1138. Only at this point would Balian I have gained control of Ramla, and thereby, we may suppose, of Mirabel. However, as Mayer has shown, Balian I did not hold Ramla in his own right, but merely assisted his wife in administering it. And in 1143–44 the lordship was taken over by Helvis's younger brother Renier, who held it until his death in 1146–48.³² Around 1141, King Fulk granted Balian I the newly built castle of Ibelin (Yibna) and its lordship.³³ This was probably in part a reward for Balian's loyalty during the revolt of Count Hugh of Jaffa in 1134.³⁴ But it may also have been in recognition of the fact that Renier of Ramla was nearing his majority at this time.³⁵ Apart from the highly suspect claim of the *Lignages*, there is no evidence to suggest that Balian I ever received Mirabel, nor does there appear to be any reason why he should have done. More probably it was still associated with Ramla at this time.

On Balian I's death in 1150, his eldest son, Hugh, succeeded to the lordship of Ibelin.³⁶ Probably within the same year that she was widowed, Helvis, lady of Ramla, married Manasses of Hierges.³⁷ As constable of the kingdom, Manasses supported Melisende against her son Baldwin III. Early in 1152 Baldwin therefore moved against him and besieged him in his castle of Mirabel (*in castro quodam eius, cui nomen Mirabel*). The castle fell, Manasses was banished, and Baldwin

³⁰ *Cart Hosp* 1:232, no. 327. RRH Add no. 384a.

³¹ *Cart Hosp* 1:199, no. 263. RRH no. 330. It is not entirely certain whether this land lay in the lordship of Mirabel at all.

³² Mayer, 'Carving up Crusaders,' pp. 114–116.

³³ WT 15.24, pp. 706–707. James of Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, 1.41, ed. J. Bongars, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 2 (Hanau, 1611), p. 1071; trans. A. Stewart, in PPTS 11:15.

³⁴ Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships*, p. 46.

³⁵ Mayer, 'Carving up Crusaders,' p. 116. Renier witnessed a charter of the patriarch of Jerusalem in February 1141 (RRH no. 201).

³⁶ RRH no. 291 (1152). On the date, see Mayer, 'Carving up Crusaders,' pp. 103, 117.

³⁷ Mayer, 'Carving up Crusaders,' p. 103. Idem, *Crusades*, p. 110. Idem, 'Manasses of Hierges in East and West,' *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 66 (1988), 757–766 (at pp. 760, 763) = idem, *Kings and Lords*, no. 16.

moved on to take hold of Nablus and finally Jerusalem.³⁸ As well as providing the earliest mention of a castle at Mirabel, this episode is also of significance in adding support to the view that Mirabel was a dependency of Ramla, rather than of Ibelin.³⁹

After the flight of Manasses, it seems that Helvis continued to administer Ramla, including Mirabel, with the help of her son, Hugh, lord of Ibelin, until her own death between 1158 and 1160.⁴⁰ In January 1158 or 1159, for example, Hugh of Ibelin gave some land in the territory of Mirabel to the Hospital, with the consent of his mother.⁴¹ The status of Mirabel during this period, however, was probably no more than a castellany. Evidently it had a castle and presumably a castellan by 1152, though a charter purporting to be of that date and mentioning a certain Andrew de Mirabel has now been shown to be a thirteenth-century forgery.⁴² Other more plausible candidates for identifying as castellans are Peter de Miribello, who appears as witness to a charter of Philip of Nablus in favour of the lepers of St Lazarus, made at the siege of Ascalon in 1153,⁴³ and Guy de Mirobello who is listed as one of the men of Amalric, count of Ascalon-Jaffa, in June 1157.⁴⁴

After the death of Helvis of Ramla, Hugh of Ibelin inherited her lordship, which evidently still included Mirabel. This is made clear by another charter, issued sometime between Christmas 1159 and the end of August 1160, by which Hugh, as lord of Ramla, granted part of the tell overlooking the 'silent springs' (Ras al-'Ain, al-'Auja) below Mirabel (*partem turonii quod est sub Mirabello ad surdos fontes/partem turonii quod superjacet surdis fontibus*) and two carrucates of land to the canons of St Joseph and St Habakkuk.⁴⁵

Mirabel would finally have been detached from Ramla and made into a separate lordship only a year or two before Amalric, count of Ascalon-Jaffa, succeeded his brother Baldwin III as king in 1163.⁴⁶ The earliest certain evidence for its

³⁸ WT 17.14, p. 779. H.E. Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem,' *DOP* 26 (1972), 98–182 = idem, *Probleme*, no. 3. Idem, *Crusades*, pp. 110–111. J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1975), 1:401. Runciman, *Crusades* 2: 334–335.

³⁹ The assertion by Mayer, 'The Origins of the Lordships of Ramla and Lydda in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,' *Speculum* 60 (1985), 537–552 (at p. 547) [= idem, *Kings and Lords* no. 14], that Helvis of Ramla acquired Mirabel only in 1152 seems unfounded, since we have seen that she and her husband, Balian I, had already been active in Mirabel's territory before 1150.

⁴⁰ Mayer, 'Manasses of Hierges,' pp. 763–764.

⁴¹ *Cart Hosp* 1:199, no. 263. RRH no. 330.

⁴² RRH no. 276. H.E. Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel und ein akkonensisches Fälscheratelier des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1972), pp. 24–34, 177–179.

⁴³ This was confirmed by Amalric, count of Ascalon, in July 1155 (A. de Marsy, 'Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'ordre de Saint-Lazare, en Terre-Sainte,' *AOL* 2.2 (1884), 121–158 (at pp. 133–134, no. 14; RRH no. 308).

⁴⁴ RRH no. 324.

⁴⁵ *Cart St Sép*, pp. 139–142, nos. 52–53. RRH nos. 358, 360. The interpretation advanced by Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships*, p. 70, that Mirabel was at this time a separate lordship in which Hugh of Ramla, as overlord, had retained certain lands for himself seems disingenuous.

⁴⁶ Cf. Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 115–116.

change of status comes in August 1162, when Hugh of Ibelin's brother, Baldwin, is first styled lord of Mirabel.⁴⁷

The assertion made by Emmanuel Sivan and others that Baldwin was already lord of Mirabel in 1156–57⁴⁸ may easily be refuted. It is based on the testimony of Diya' al-Din al-Muqaddasi (1173–1245) as communicated by the sixteenth-century writer, Ibn Tulun, concerning the flight to Damascus at that time of Hanbali refugees from the territory of Nablus, to escape the harsh treatment being meted out to them by their Frankish lord. The name of the lord is given variously as Ibn Barizan or Badwin.⁴⁹ But while it seems very probable that this 'Baldwin, son of Balian,' was indeed Baldwin, son of Balian I of Ibelin, it does not follow that he was lord of Mirabel by 1156–57; for all the villages listed in the text clearly lay in the territory of Nablus, not of Mirabel.⁵⁰ Furthermore it would appear that Baldwin had inherited these villages as part of the estate of his grandfather, Baldwin of Ramla (died 1138), who is mentioned as the owner of one of them, Jamma'in (*Gemall, Gemmail*, Grid ref. 169.170), in 1123.⁵¹

Baldwin is again mentioned as lord of Mirabel in 1163,⁵² 1165,⁵³ 1166,⁵⁴ 1167,⁵⁵ and 1168.⁵⁶ The viscount named Robert, who witnessed his charter of 1162, may possibly have been viscount of Mirabel;⁵⁷ and another named Walter, more certainly viscount of Mirabel, also appears between 1165 and 1177.⁵⁸ By 1171 Baldwin of Mirabel had succeeded his brother Hugh as lord of Ramla.⁵⁹ Thus Mirabel's period of independence as a lordship would have been brief, lasting barely a decade.

When Saladin invaded the kingdom of Jerusalem from Egypt in November 1177, a Muslim raid was launched on Ramla by an apostate Armenian named

⁴⁷ C. Kohler, *Chartes de l'abbaye de N.-D. de la vallée de Josaphat* (Paris, 1900), p. 35, no. 32. RRH Add 22, no. 370b.

⁴⁸ E. Sivan, 'Réfugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des croisades,' *Revue des études islamiques* 35 (1967), 135–147 (at p. 138). Mayer, 'Carving up Crusaders,' p. 117. B.Z. Kedar and M. al-Hajjaj, 'Muslim Villagers of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem,' in *Itinéraires d'Orient: Hommages à Claude Cahen*, *Res Orientales* 6 (Bures-sur-Yvette, 1994), pp. 145–156 (at p. 147).

⁴⁹ Sivan, pp. 137–139.

⁵⁰ See Kedar and al-Hajjaj, 'Muslim Villagers,' map on p. 147.

⁵¹ *Chartes Josaphat*, pp. 37–38, no. 12; cf. pp. 63–67, no. 28 (1154); pp. 100–105, no. 49 (1255). Kohler, *Chartes*, pp. 18–20, no. 17 (1129). RRH no. 101 (1123). RRH Add no. 129a (1129). See also Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships*, p. 43.

⁵² *Cart Hosp* 1:232, no. 327. RRH Add no. 384a.

⁵³ *Cart Hosp* 1: 238–239, no. 240. RRH no. 419.

⁵⁴ *Cart Hosp* 1:245, no. 354. RRH no. 423.

⁵⁵ *Cart Hosp* 1:255–256, no. 371. RRH no. 433.

⁵⁶ *Cart Hosp* 1:265, no. 388. RRH Add no. 457a.

⁵⁷ Kohler, *Chartes*, p. 35, no. 32. RRH Add no. 370b.

⁵⁸ RRH nos. 419 (1165), 423 (1166), 496 (1173), 548 (1177). E. Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici* (Berlin, 1869; reprinted with preface by H.E. Mayer, Toronto, 1975), pp. 7–8, no. 6 (1173); 9, no. 8 (1177).

⁵⁹ RRH no. 492; cf. no. 514 (1174). Mayer, 'Carving up Crusaders,' p. 117. Cf. Prawer, *Histoire* 1:581.

al-Jawali (Ivelinus). The Muslims found Ramla deserted, for while the fighting men had followed their lord, Baldwin, to assist the king in Ascalon, part of the remaining population had fled to Jaffa and the rest 'had gone up into a castle located in the hills, called Mirabel, which was adequately fortified' (*castrum in montibus situm, munitum satis, cui nomen Mirabel*).⁶⁰ The raid swept on past Mirabel, reaching as far north as Qalqiliya (*Calcalia*, Grid ref. 146.188) before Baldwin IV's decisive victory over Saladin at Montgisart on 25 November.⁶¹

In 1186, Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Ramla and Mirabel, refused homage to Guy of Lusignan and left for Antioch, abandoning his lordships in the kingdom of Jerusalem. His fief was entrusted to his younger brother, Balian II. Balian subsequently married Maria Comnena, the widow of King Amalric, who brought with her as dowry the lordship of Nablus.⁶²

The following year, Majdal Yaba fell to al-'Adil, Saladin's brother, during his advance with reinforcements from Egypt soon after the Muslim victory over the Frankish army at Hattin. Muslim sources imply that the castle was captured before the fall of Jaffa, sometime between 10 and 19 July.⁶³ An account in Latin of the fall of the Holy Land to Saladin, however, places the taking of Mirabel after that of Jaffa:

And then, overrunning the whole of that region Sephidin [al-'Adil] came to a castle that is called Mirabel, and laid siege; he brought up machines and for a number of days very bitterly oppressed those who resisted him. And when those who were in the fortress saw that they could not hold out, moved by compassion for the women and children, they asked for a truce. Surety having been given, he ejected them from the place; and to prevent them being killed by other Saracens on the road he gave them an escort of up to 400 very strong Turks.

The refugees were thus convoyed as far as the abbey of St Samuel on Mount Joy (Montjoie), within sight of Jerusalem, where their Muslim protectors were attacked and put to flight by a party of Templars and men from the city.⁶⁴ Balian II of Ibelin was soon to play a decisive part in the defence of Jerusalem and in its eventual surrender to Saladin.⁶⁵

The strategic importance of Majdal Yaba and the springs of al-'Auja was demonstrated again at the time of the Third Crusade. On 26 August 1191, Saladin moved south from Tall Qaimun, shadowing King Richard's army. Passing by

⁶⁰ WT 21. 20 (21), p. 989.

⁶¹ WT 21. 20–22 (21–23), pp. 989–992. Prawer, *Histoire* 1:552. Runciman, *Crusades* 2: 416–417.

⁶² Mayer, 'Carving up Crusaders,' p. 117.

⁶³ Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, trans. H. Massé, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 10 (Paris, 1972), pp. 33, 99. Abu 'l-Fida, RHC Or 1:56. Ibn al-Athir, RHC Or 1:690–91. Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. R.J.C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980), p. 83. M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 30 (Cambridge, 1982), p. 268.

⁶⁴ *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum libellus*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875), pp. 229–230. Prawer, *Histoire* 1:656, 667–668.

⁶⁵ Runciman, *Crusades* 2: 463–467. Mayer, 'Carving up Crusaders,' p. 117.

way of as-Sabbaghin (Sabbarin, Grid ref. 152–3.219)⁶⁶ and 'Uyun al-Asawir (Tall al-Asawir/Tel Esur, 152.209),⁶⁷ on the night of the 28th he sent his baggage forward to Majdal Yaba.⁶⁸ On 7 September, Richard won a decisive victory over the Muslims at the battle of Arsuf. By this time Saladin had evidently moved his baggage train back north of the River al-'Auja; for he immediately ordered it south again, then changed mind and advanced once more towards Arsuf.⁶⁹

The author of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* includes *Mirabellum* in a list of castles that Saladin was supposed to have ordered his brother al-'Adil to destroy at this point in the campaign.⁷⁰ However, it is evident that in the case of Mirabel no such order was executed, for when, on 3 January 1192, Richard laid an ambush for the Turks at Yazur (*casellum Balneorum*, Grid ref. 131.159), the surviving Muslims made off towards Mirabel with the Franks in pursuit.⁷¹ On 27 March 1192, while Richard was in Acre, the Franks also carried out a raid on Mirabel from Jaffa, killing 30 Turks and capturing another 50, besides a quantity of livestock valued at some 16,000 bezants.⁷²

According to Baha' al-Din, Richard's men raided Majdal Yaba again on 30 May 1192, travelling there and back in a day from their base at Tall al-Hasi (Grid ref. 124.106).⁷³ However, as Joshua Prawer has pointed out, the distance of over 60 km each way seems rather too far for the Franks to have covered easily in a day.⁷⁴ It is possible therefore either that Baha' al-Din was simply recalling the earlier March raid, or that the second raid was launched not from Tall al-Hasi but from elsewhere, possibly as a diversion to draw the Muslims' attention away from the main Frankish attack on Jerusalem being mounted from the south-west. Whatever the explanation, Baha' al-Din relates that the Franks were lightly armed. The garrison that Saladin had stationed in Majdal Yaba came

⁶⁶ Where building foundations and a well are recorded: Department of Antiquities [Government of Palestine], *Geographical List of the Record Files, 1918–1948* (Israel Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem, 1976), p. 47; [Government of Israel], 'Schedule of Monuments and Historical Sites,' *Reshumot Yalqut ha-Pirsumim* [Official Gazette, Announcements], 1091 (18 May 1964), pp 1349–1561, I-XLIII (at p. 1405) [in Hebrew].

⁶⁷ Department of Antiquities, *Geographical List*, p. 52. 'Schedule of Monuments,' p. 1409.

⁶⁸ Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *The Life of Saladin*, trans. C.W. Wilson, ch. 117, PPTS 13:276–278. 'Imad al-Din, *Conquête*, trans. Massé, p. 334. Prawer, *Histoire* 2:80. Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 225.

⁶⁹ Baha' al-Din, ch. 121, PPTS 13:292–293.

⁷⁰ Ch. 4.23, ed. W.Stubbs, RS 38.1 (London 1864), p. 280. Prawer, *Histoire* 2:83.

⁷¹ *Itinerarium*, ch. 4.36, RS 38.1:307.

⁷² *Itinerarium*, ch. 5.12, RS 38.1:324–325.

⁷³ Excavations have shown the tell to have been covered from early Islamic times by a large Muslim cemetery. R. Amiran and J.E. Worrell, 'Hesi, Tel,' *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern, 2 (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 514–520. J.K. Eakins, *Tell el-Hesi: The Muslim Cemetery in Fields V and VI/IX (Stratum II)*, The Joint Archaeological Expedition to Tell al-Hesi 5 (Winnona Lake, Indiana 1993).

⁷⁴ *Histoire* 2:93 n. 30.

out and engaged them; and in the furious fight that ensued, they killed one of the Frankish nobles, for the loss of only one Muslim dead.⁷⁵

By the treaty of Jaffa in September 1192, Majdal Yaba was excluded from Frankish-held territory.⁷⁶ Its lord, Balian II of Ibelin is last mentioned in 1193.⁷⁷ It seems that Mirabel never again returned to Frankish hands, though part of the lordship may possibly have been theirs, at least in theory, in 1240–41.⁷⁸

Around 1225, the Muslim geographer Yaqut describes Majdal Yaba as 'a village near Ar Ramlah, where there is a strong fortress.'⁷⁹ The Ayyubid al-Malik al-Nasir Dawud of Karak camped at the springs of al-'Auja in 1242;⁸⁰ and by September 1261 al-'Auja had been incorporated once again into the road system between Cairo and Damascus, when Sultan Baybars received there John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa.⁸¹ Al-Qalqashandi (1335–1418) also mentions a hill near Majdal Yaba which served as part of the system of beacons that was used for relaying messages from Qaqun to Markaz Yazur, and thence to Gaza.⁸²

The population of Majdal Yaba numbered some 44 people in 1596.⁸³ In the seventeenth century the village was taken over by the Rayyan family, immigrants from Transjordan, who incorporated the medieval castle into a magnificent manor house and estate centre in the nineteenth century. The village was renamed Majdal al-Sadiq after a chief of the family, Shaykh al-Sadiq al-Junayni, whose tomb stands on a hill north of the village.⁸⁴ The village was visited and described by

⁷⁵ Baha' al-Din, ch. 150, PPTS 13:337–338. A large enclosure which survives at Qurnat Haramiya, about 1 km north of Majdal Yaba (Grid 1466.1659), has been tentatively identified as the Ayyubid siege camp of 1187. It seems more likely, however, to be a later encampment, either Saladin's of 1191–92 or one built by Baybars in the 1260s. It encloses about 100 dunams (10 ha) and is surrounded by a solid wall, 2.5 m thick, built with two faces of large stones enclosing a rubble infill. Pottery and coins from the site are dated to the Crusader and Mamluk periods: M. Kochavi and I. Beit-Arie, *Map of Rosh ha-Ayin* (78), Archaeological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 39*, 54–55 (no. 93). Department of Antiquities, *Geographical List*, p. 91.

⁷⁶ Baha' al-Din, chs. 170, 171, PPTS 13:381, 384–385. Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 359.

⁷⁷ RRH no. 716.

⁷⁸ Cf. Prawer, *Histoire* 2: 283–287.

⁷⁹ Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 498. A. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Études bibliques (Paris, 1951), p. 192.

⁸⁰ Prawer, *Histoire* 2:306.

⁸¹ P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1987), pp. 143, 154 n. 70. Cf. Hartmann, 'Die Strasse von Damaskus,' pp. 686–693. D. Pringle, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar): Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks, A.D. 1099–1516*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Monograph Series 1 (London, 1986), p. 25.

⁸² M.G. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 3 (Paris, 1923), p. 260.

⁸³ W.D. Hütteroth and K. Abdulfatah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century*, Erlanger Geographische Arbeiten, Sonderbuch 5 (Erlangen, 1977), p. 137. H. Khalidi, ed., *All that Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington DC, 1992), p. 396.

⁸⁴ Khalidi, *All that Remains*, p. 396.

E. Robinson in 1852,⁸⁵ by Victor Guérin in 1870,⁸⁶ by the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine in 1873,⁸⁷ and by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau the following year.⁸⁸

During the First World War the buildings were severely damaged.⁸⁹ In 1944–45 the population numbered 1,500, but in 1948 the village was abandoned.⁹⁰

The Site

A rapid survey of the surviving medieval elements of the castle was undertaken in August 1988 by the writer and Matthew Pease, as part of a project of crusader castle research sponsored by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and centred on the excavation of the castle of Belmont (Suba).⁹¹ The drawings were checked and augmented during another visit in May 1995.

The survey reveals that the castle had a complicated layout, which does not lend itself to easy categorization (see fig. 2). The earliest element seems to have been a massive tower (*I*), standing on the western edge of a natural plateau overlooking the plain. It measures 13.9 m north–south by 13.0 m east–west, with walls 3 m thick and a solid rectangular buttress projecting at the south-western corner. A photograph from the 1920s–40s shows that there was originally a similar buttress at the north-west corner (pls. 1, 4 and 10). The tower's walls were faced inside and out with large ashlar blocks, for the most part apparently *spolia* from earlier buildings, enclosing a mortared rubble core. The sole doorway (pl. 11), at ground-floor level on the east, is 1.21 m wide and covered by a large stone lintel (2.68 by 0.66 m, and 1.14 m thick) bearing on it a *tabula ansata* containing a Greek inscription which reads: ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΗΡΥΚΟΥ (Martyrium of Holy Kerykos, or Cyriacus). Above the lintel a pointed relieving arch represents in effect the external face of the barrel-vaulted door passage (1.43 m wide). Behind

⁸⁵ *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1852* (London, 1856), p. 140.

⁸⁶ *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine 2: Samarie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1874–75), 2:132–133, 363–366.

⁸⁷ C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs*, 3 vols. (London 1881–83), 2:286.

⁸⁸ *Archaeological Researches in Palestine During the Years 1873–1874*, 2 vols. (London, 1899, 1896), 2:340–341, fig.

⁸⁹ J. Ory, report dated 1927 in file 135 of the archive of the Government of Palestine, Department of Antiquities, housed in the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum, Jerusalem, inspected by kind permission of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

⁹⁰ Khalidi, *All that Remains*, pp. 396–397.

⁹¹ D. Pringle, 'Crusader Castles: The First Generation,' *Fortress* 1 (1989), 14–25 (at pp. 18–19). Idem, 'Survey of Castles in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1989: Preliminary Report,' *Levant* 23 (1991), 87–91. See also Benvenisti, *Crusaders*, pp. 194–196. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria*, Pubblicazioni dello Studio Biblico Franceseano, Collezione minore 19 (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 126–129, figs. 52–54. Y. Chaver, 'Afeq Pass at the Sources of the Yarkon River,' *Israel Land and Nature* 11 (1986), 140–144 (pp. 141–142). Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 38, figs. 10–11.

the right-hand jamb, a draw-bar slot (19cm wide) indicates that the timber door itself would have been no more than 10cm thick.

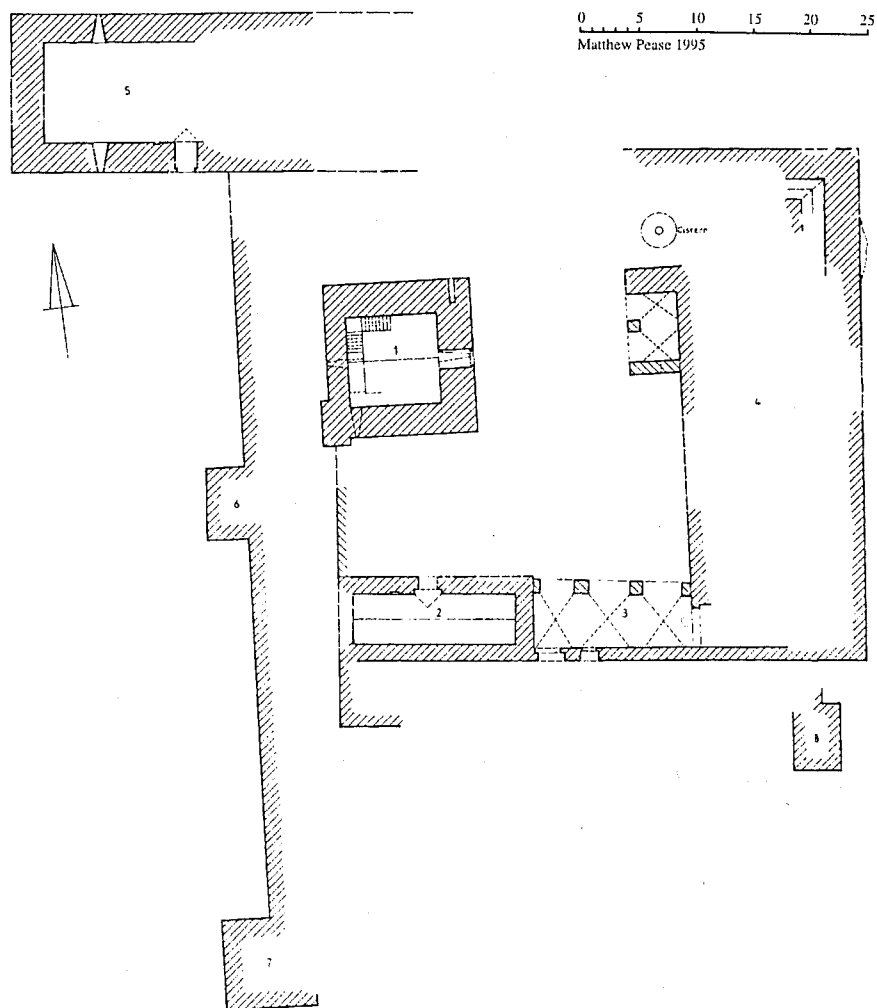


Fig. 2. Mirabel (Majdal Yaba): plan of the medieval castle
(drawn by Matthew Pease, BSAJ Survey 1988, 1995).

The ground floor of the tower is enclosed by a pointed barrel-vault, constructed in rubble masonry (pl. 12). Simple rectangular splays, probably intended principally for ventilation and light but also serviceable as *archères*, are set high up in the east and west walls, the eastern one being oddly out of line with the door below it (pl. 11). Access to the now-vanished first floor was by means of a masonry stair built against the north and west walls, the latter part being carried on a pointed arch; after penetrating the line of the vault, the stair passage turned left once more and continued up in the haunch of the vault, at this point being lit by another splayed opening in the south wall. Although the upper floor has gone, it seems likely that in common with most other Frankish towers⁹² the tower would have had only two storeys, with the main living area on the first floor and a crenellated fighting platform above.

At an early, though probably-secondary, stage the tower was incorporated into the west side of a rectangular enclosure, or inner ward, extending some 46m east-west by at least 45m north-south overall, with a courtyard at its centre. Although today the east and south sides of the tower are abutted by vaulted ranges of the later Ottoman castle (pl. 3), it is uncertain whether it was so enclosed in the twelfth century. Very probably the original north range was sited further north, so that the east face of the tower looked directly into the courtyard. It also seems likely that the gateway to the inner ward would have been on this side, as was the gate to the later Ottoman castle.

The only certain traces of twelfth-century buildings in the inner ward belong to the south and east ranges. On the south they include a barrel-vaulted room (2), measuring internally 4.5 by 14.1m, with walls 1.5m thick and a door on the north. Quite possibly this once supported an upper floor. Abutting the east side of this structure and completing the south range was a *loggia* (3), consisting of three bays of groin-vaults (now rebuilt) opening through pointed arches on to the courtyard (pl. 6). Whether any further structures lay immediately south of these is uncertain, though the plan suggests that something, perhaps another vault or a corner-tower, lay to the south of room 2.

The site of the west range is now mostly overlain by the residential part of the Ottoman castle (pl. 5). The wall facing the courtyard, however, has a broad arch (3.5m wide) opening through it at its south end, against which the *loggia* (3) was subsequently built. In the north-east corner of the range there also survives a barrel-vaulted passage (1.9m wide), which may possibly represent the top of a stair that descended towards the west, perhaps to a postern. In the north-east corner of the courtyard survive two open groin-vaulted bays of uncertain purpose. North of these, below the north range, is a rock-cut cistern with a circular mouth (diameter 55cm).

Probably in a still later phase, additional outer defences were added on the west side of the inner ward (pl. 4). These consist of an outer wall with two

⁹² D. Pringle, 'Towers in Crusader Palestine,' *Château-Gaillard: Études de castellologie médiévale* 16 (1994), 335-350 (at pp. 339-341).

projecting rectangular towers (6–7). The central one (6) is 6.49m wide and projects 3.10–3.57m, while the southern one (7) projects 4.17m on the west and is 8.07m wide.

To the north this wall butts against a large rectangular structure (5), whose function is uncertain. Overall it measured 14.6m north–south and at least 25m east–west; its walls were 2.7m thick. A door in its south side, with a low-pointed rear-arch 1.85m wide and with its outer facing robbed, may represent one of the main outer gates of the castle. To the west of the gate are traces of an internal partition. The western part of this structure was lit at a higher level by splayed lancet windows in the north and south walls; to the west of the latter there are also traces of a vaulted mural-passage.

The outer defences would have been useless unless they also extended on the north, east and south sides of the inner ward; indeed, remains of a south wall may be seen on a photo of the 1920s–40s (pl. 1), running east from tower 7, which does not appear to have projected on this side. Whether this wall returned to abut the south-east corner of the inner ward, perhaps incorporating the enigmatic tower-like structure 8, or whether there was also an outer wall on the east remains unknown.

Apart from the Byzantine lintel reused in the twelfth-century tower, various other pieces of Byzantine *spolia* have been recorded, suggesting the former existence of a church somewhere on the site.⁹³ However, there is no evidence to support E. Rey's claim that the ruins included remains of a twelfth-century church.⁹⁴ Some pieces of twelfth-century *spolia* are also built into the Ottoman castle. They include some moulded voussoirs with nail-head ornament that are built into the doorway into the Ottoman residence on the east side of the central courtyard (pls. 7–8; fig. 3),⁹⁵ and a corbel decorated with a chevron pattern which supports a transverse arch between tower 6 and the west wall of the inner ward (pl. 9; fig. 4).

Discussion and Conclusion

Although the tower was claimed by the late Fr B. Bagatti to be Byzantine,⁹⁶ it is clear from its design and from the consistent use made in its construction of pointed arches that it belongs to the twelfth century and that the Greek inscription over its door is therefore not in its original position. The tower probably

⁹³ Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi*, pp. 126–129, fig. 54. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 2:340–341. Department of Antiquities, *Geographical Lists*, p. 91.

⁹⁴ *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XIIème et XIIIème siècles* (Paris, 1883), p. 413. See also Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2 (forthcoming), 'Majdal Yaba' (q.v.).

⁹⁵ I am grateful to Lawrence Butler for drawing this moulding to my attention, in failing light, during the visit to the castle by the Castle Studies Group on 17 September 1994.

⁹⁶ *Antichi villaggi*, p. 128. Cf. E. Hoade, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 9th ed. (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 600, 610.

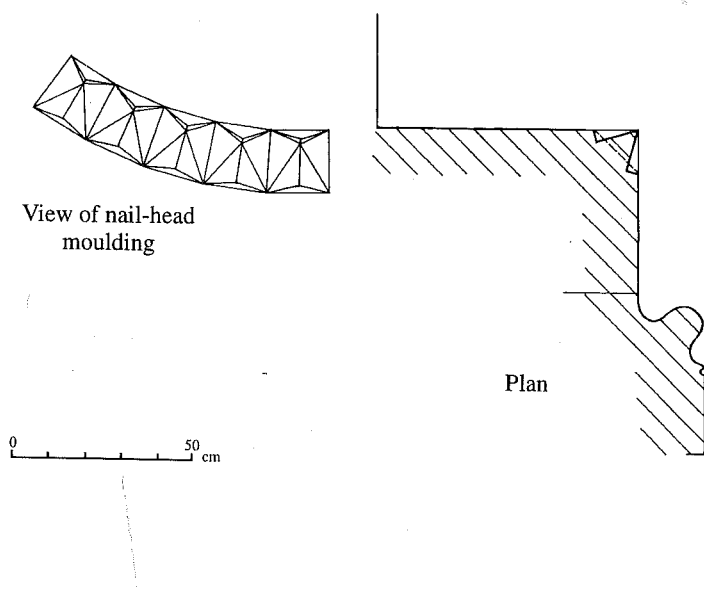


Fig. 3. Mirabel (Majdal Yaba): detail of voussoirs decorated with nail-head ornament reused in an Ottoman-period doorway into the east range (4) (drawn by Matthew Pease).

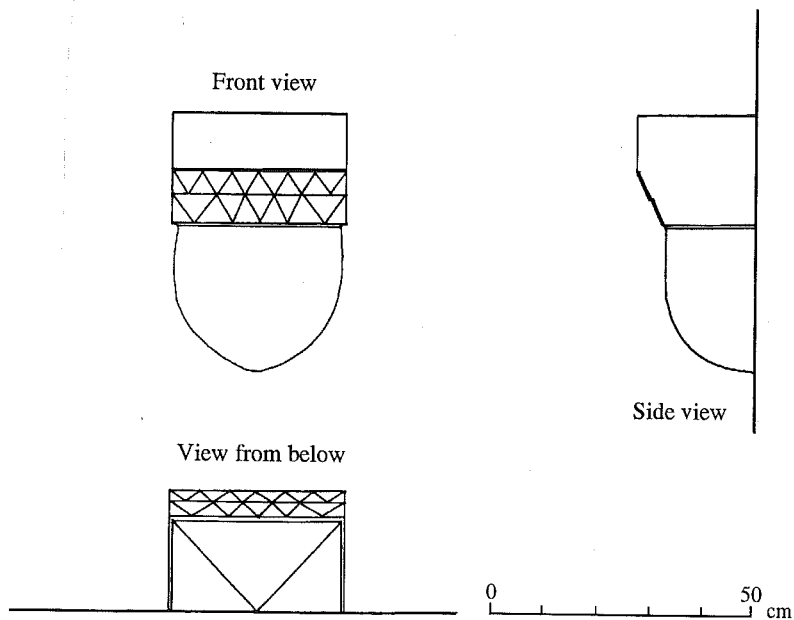


Fig. 4. Mirabel (Majdal Yaba): detail of a decorated medieval corbel, reused in a nineteenth-century vault adjacent to tower 6 (drawn by Matthew Pease).

represents the earliest part of the Frankish castle. If the same wall-thickness was repeated on its first floor (which is not certain), its first-floor area of 55 m² would be comparable to that of the tower in the nearby Templar castle of Latrun. This indicates a solar or chamber, rather than a hall, and suggests either that the original occupant was not of sufficient status to have required a hall or, if he was, that the hall itself would have been located in another building.⁹⁷ This could lend weight to the supposition that Mirabel was originally merely a castellany, only latterly achieving the status of the centre of a lordship.

The castle is known to have existed by 1152, when it was besieged by Baldwin III, and was probably further expanded when Mirabel became an independent lordship, dependent on Ramla-Ibelin, around 1162. The precise stages by which the expansion occurred, however, are difficult to determine or to date in the absence of clearance or archaeological excavation of the remains.

In 1171 the lordship of Mirabel was reunited with that of Ramla, and in 1186 its lord was Balian II of Ibelin, whose main interest would have been in administering the lordship of Nablus belonging to his wife. The *floruit* of the lordship of Mirabel, and probably also of its castle, would therefore have been in the years c. 1162–71. After this the principal resident of the castle would probably have been the viscount, or castellan.

Despite the evidence of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, it appears unlikely that the castle was destroyed after it fell to the Ayyubids in 1187. Indeed, it is possible that some parts of what remain of it belong to the Ayyubid period of occupation during the Third Crusade. The castle was probably only abandoned as a serious work of fortification during the Mamluk period, when it was eclipsed by Qal'at Ras al-'Ain, a fort built on Tel Aphek, which was to be expanded by the Ottomans in 1571.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Pringle, 'Towers in Crusader Palestine,' p. 342.

⁹⁸ M. Kochavi, 'The First Two Seasons of Excavations at Aphek-Antipatris. Preliminary Report,' *Tel Aviv* 2 (1975), 17–42.

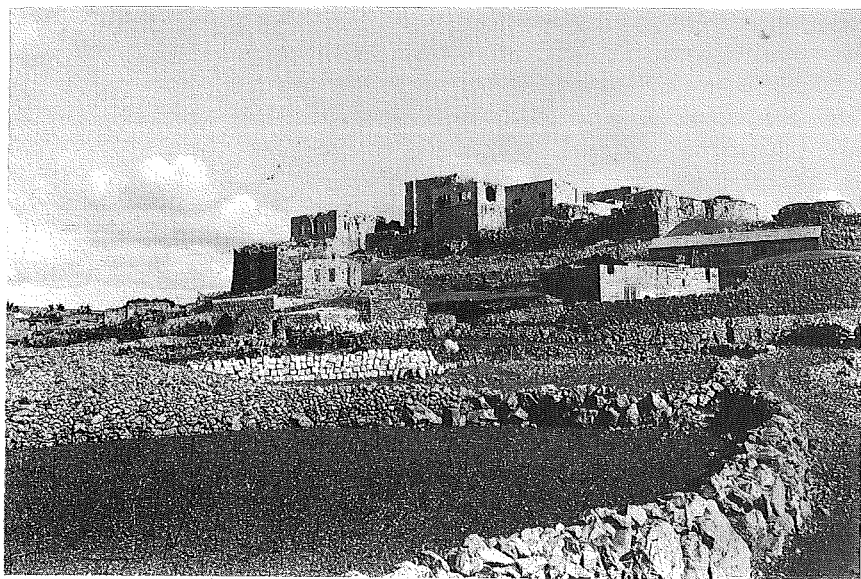


Plate 1. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): the castle from the W, as photographed sometime in the 1920s-40s (photo. courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem).



Plate 2. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): the castle, seen from the maqam of Shaikh Sadiq to the N.

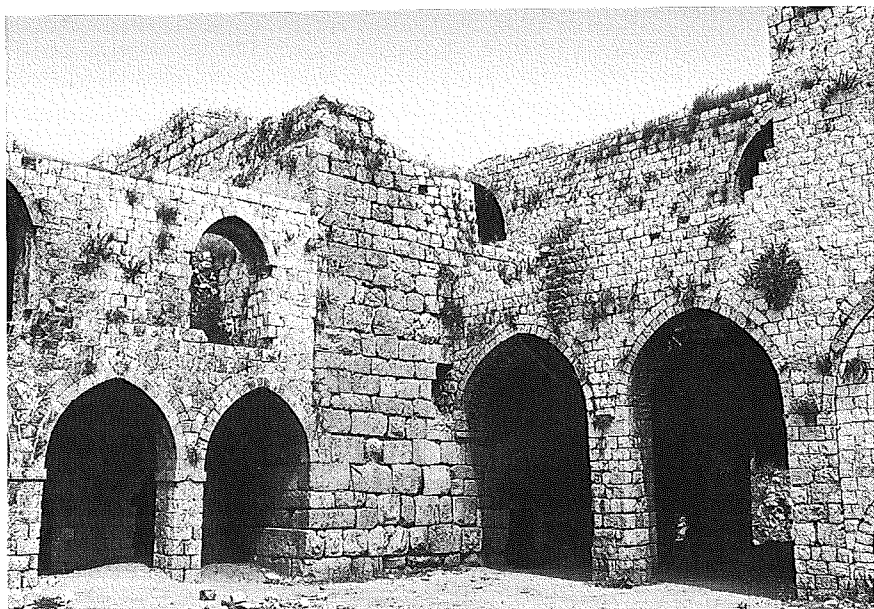


Plate 3. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): tower 1, from the inner courtyard.



Plate 4. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): tower 1 from the NW, with the outer wall and tower 6 in front (to the right) of it.



Plate 5. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): the E side of the central courtyard, showing the entrance to the Ottoman-period residence.

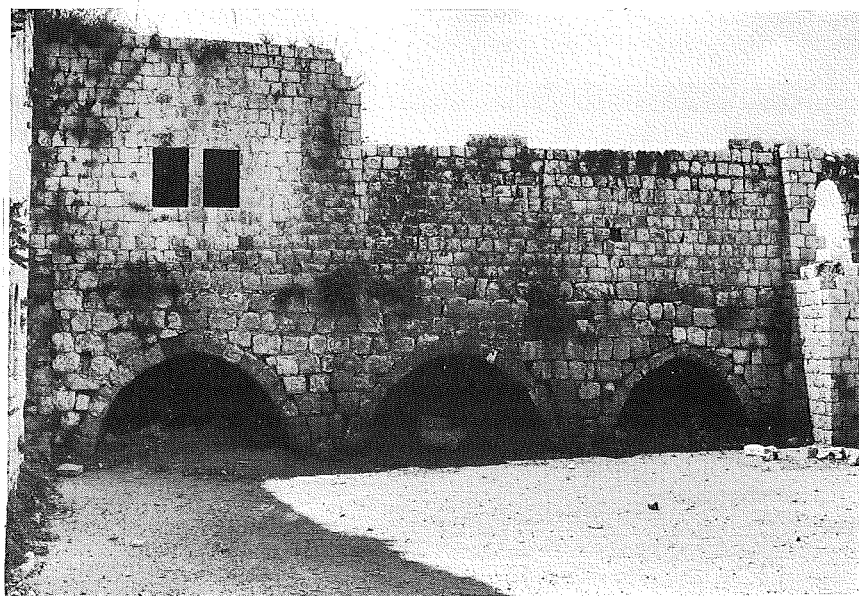


Plate 6. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): the S side of the central courtyard, showing the three arches of *loggia* 3.

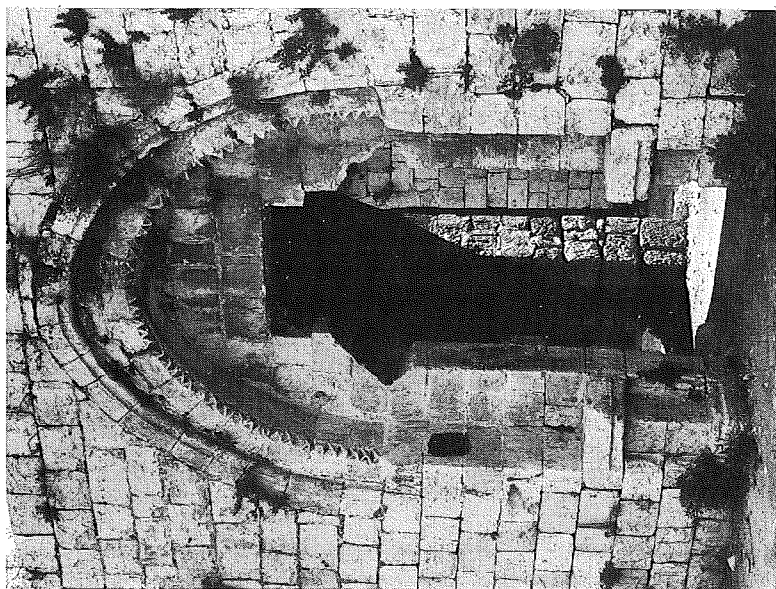


Plate 7. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): the entrance to the Ottoman-period residence, incorporating 12th-century *spolia*.

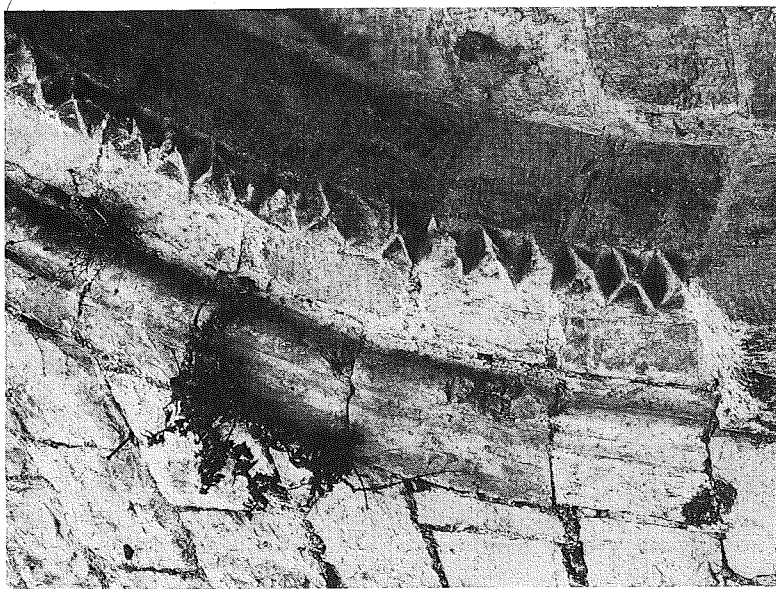


Plate 8. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): the entrance to the Ottoman-period residence, detail of 12th-century moulding and nail-head ornament.

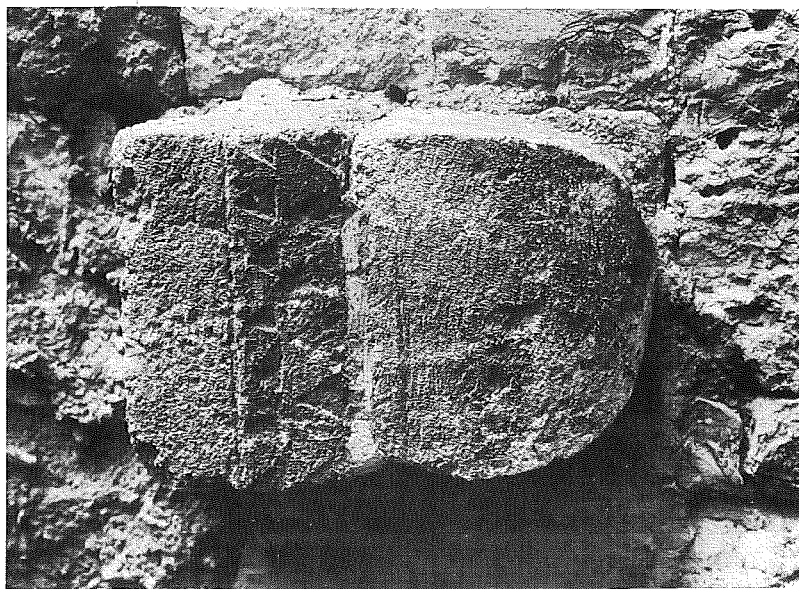


Plate 9. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): chevron-patterned corbel reused in an Ottoman-period building near to tower 6.

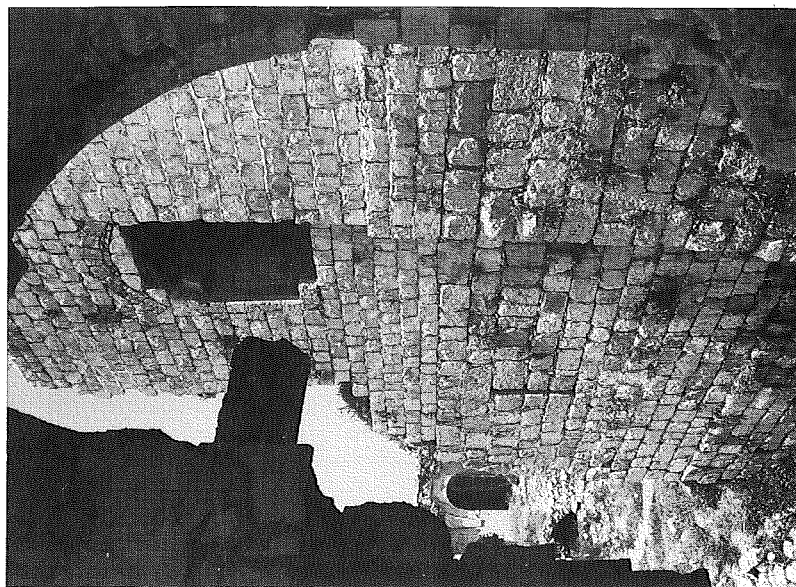


Plate 10. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): tower 1, W face seen from SW.

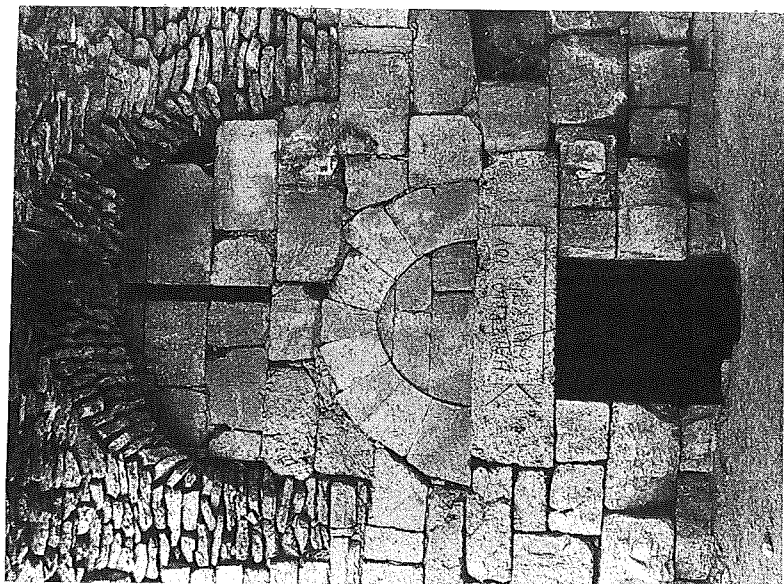


Plate 11. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): tower I, doorway.

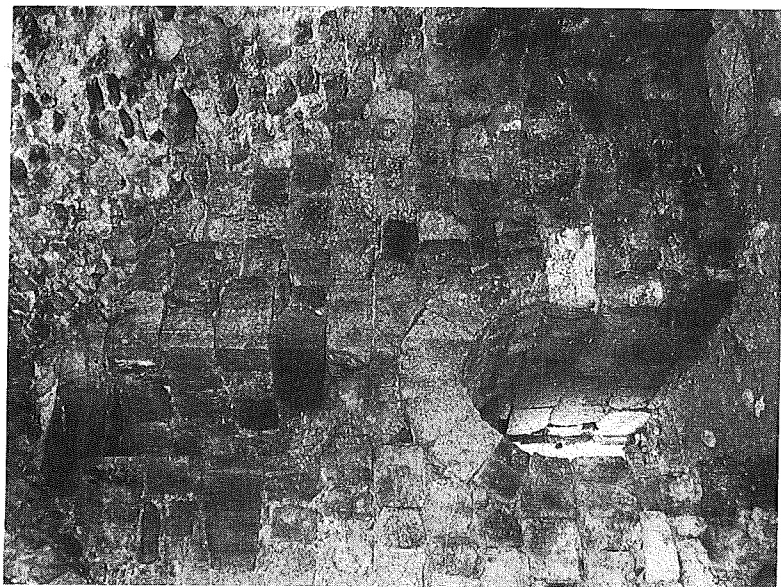


Plate 12. Majdal Yaba (Mirabel): tower I, doorway and embrasure, viewed from inside.

A Western Survey of Saladin's Forces at the Siege of Acre

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One of Hans Eberhard Mayer's manifold contributions to crusade studies has been to point out the importance of the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre Jerosolimitane*, a detailed description of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem in the two decades or so that preceded its downfall in 1187.¹ This anonymous work surveys methodically the ethnic and religious composition of the kingdom's population, describes the military orders of the Temple and the Hospital, delineates the kingdom's ecclesiastical and political organization, and lists its main holy sites as well as its more conspicuous physical features.² It is evident that this fact-laden treatise, rightly characterized by Mayer as 'zweifellos gut informiert',³ was later utilized by Thietmar, Jacques de Vitry and Burchard of Mount Zion.

Mayer used the text of the *Tractatus* as edited in 1865 by Georg M. Thomas from a Munich manuscript of the early years of the thirteenth century, Clm 17060, with variants from Clm 4351 and Clm 5307, both of the fifteenth century.⁴ In 1866 Wilhelm Anton Neumann edited the first three-quarters of the *Tractatus* from a thirteenth-century manuscript belonging to the abbey of Heiligenkreuz.⁵ In 1986 Robert B.C. Huygens noted that two English manuscripts from the first half

¹ Eg., Hans E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Schriften der MGH 26 (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 21, 92, 113, 172, 215, 223, 235, 259; idem, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Šöbak). Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins 14 (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 6, 12.

² The passages on the Jews and the Samaritans were re-edited and utilized by Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Jews and Samaritans in the Kingdom of Jerusalem,' *Tarbiz* 53 (1984), 390–394, 408 (in Hebrew); idem, 'The Frankish Period,' in *The Samaritans*, ed. A. D. Crown (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 84–88 = idem, *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1993), no. 19. The passage on the Pisans, Genoese and Venetians was used by Sylvia Schein, 'From "Milites Christi" to "Mali Christiani". The Italian Communes in Western Historical Literature,' in *I comuni italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. Gabriella Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi diretta da Geo Pistarino* 48 (Genoa, 1986), p. 682.

³ Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 21.

⁴ Georg M. Thomas (ed.), 'Ein Tractat über das heilige Land und den dritten Kreuzzug,' *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-philol. Cl.* (Munich, 1865), part 2, pp. 141–160.

⁵ Wilhelm A. Neumann, 'Drei mittelalterliche Pilgerschriften. Innominatus V,' *Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie* 5 (1866), 258–282. A recent collation with Heiligenkreuz MS. 88 has revealed that Neumann's edition is quite faulty. His text, which ends abruptly in mid-word, is evidently a fragment, and in two last-minute additions (p. 258, n. 1, and p. 282) Neumann admitted that the edition Thomas had published a year earlier was more complete than his own. Nevertheless, Aubrey Stewart translated into English solely Neumann's text, with merely a vague

of the thirteenth century, BL Royal 14 C. X and Cambridge, Magdalene College, F.4.22, present the text of the *Tractatus* just before William of Tyre's chronicle.⁶ Huygens pointed out that the text of William's chronicle that appears in these two manuscripts amounts to 'une véritable édition médiévale de la Chronique,'⁷ and it seems that their version of the *Tractatus* was handled with similar care. Hence a critical edition of the *Tractatus*, to be based on all four thirteenth-century manuscripts as well as on the two from the fifteenth century, should be superior to the texts published by Thomas and Neumann.⁸

The two English manuscripts contain an addition to the *Tractatus* that does not figure elsewhere: a survey of the Saracen forces Saladin amassed in front of Acre during the siege of 1189–91. This survey, edited below, is modelled on the *Tractatus*, presenting the various Saracen elements along the same lines according to which the *Tractatus* lists the ethnic and religious groups of the Kingdom of Jerusalem — that is, pointing out each component's martial value, general characteristics and religious beliefs. Occasionally the model's very wording is copied. For instance, while the *Tractatus* states: 'Alii sunt Greci, ab ecclesia romana divisi, homines astuti, armis parum exercitati,'⁹ our survey relates: 'Quorum primi sunt Syri, homines astuti, armis non multum exerciti, mercatores sagacissimi.' But while the *Tractatus* does not dwell on the spatial distribution within the Kingdom of Jerusalem of the various groups it is describing, the anonymous author of the survey sees fit to point out the geographical locations of the Saracen elements he is dealing with. It is noteworthy that both the *Tractatus* and the survey ignore the considerable Saracen population of Latin Syria; the *Tractatus* deals though with the Bedouins, who are said to move between Saracen and Christian territory.

The survey opens with the widespread Catholic reproach that the very term 'Saracen' is wrong, as the Saracens descend from Agar not Sarah, and should therefore more appropriately be called 'Agarenes'; at the same time, their descent

reference to Thomas' edition: PPTS 6: 27–36; likewise, Sabino De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana cruce signatorum* (saec. XII–XIII), 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1978–84), 3: 34–42. More recently, Aryeh Grabois devoted an entire article to Neumann's text, treating it as a separate entity, reprinting and translating it into Hebrew: 'From "Holy Geography" to "Palestinography": Changes in the Descriptions of Thirteenth Century Pilgrims,' *Cathedra* 31 (1984), 43–66. When alerted to the existence of Thomas's edition, Grabois laid down (p. 51, n. 29) that the MSS utilized by Thomas postdate the one used by Neumann (thus disregarding the fact that Clm 17060 antedates, or is coeval with, Heiligenkreuz 88) and conjectured that the final quarter of Thomas's text reflects a medieval scribe's additions to the original text transmitted by Heiligenkreuz 88.

⁶ See his introduction to WT, pp. 19, 21, 22 n. 42. I would like to thank Professor Huygens for having graciously placed at my disposal his photostats of the *Tractatus* as appearing in these two MSS.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁸ This edition is now under preparation.

⁹ Thomas, ed., 'Tractat.', p. 145. Clm 4351 has 'exerciti,' like the parallel sentence of our survey.

from the Ismaelites is mentioned matter-of-factly.¹⁰ The beliefs and practices that Catholics used to attribute to the Saracens in general are here divided between the Syrians and the Egyptians: the first are characterized as accepting Christ's birth from the Virgin Mary but denying his crucifixion, believing in Maometh's prophethood, abstaining from wine and pork, and practicing polygamy; the latter as washing their genitals before prayer and practicing circumcision.¹¹ It is noteworthy that the survey's author presents the Syrian Saracens as significantly closer to Christianity than they were in reality, inasmuch as he attributes to them the belief that Christ was begotten by a divine father; on the other hand, he scurrilously maintains that the Egyptians pray as they are 'unum digitum sinistre manus in ano et alterum dextre manus in auricula sinistra tenentes.'

The Arabs or Sabeans are said to 'circumcise' their ears and to worship *Haali* (= 'Ali), Maometh's companion. As William of Tyre has claimed that the Shi'ites regard only *Hali* (= 'Ali) as God's prophet,¹² the above assertion may reflect some knowledge of the popularity of Shi'ism in the land of the Sabeans, i.e. Yemen.

The other Saracen groups, some of which cannot be readily identified, are assigned imaginary beliefs and practices that, on the whole, smack strongly of vituperation. The Idumeans and Ammonites are presented as the Saracens' peasants, who curse Maometh because he authorized sodomy and give vent to their hatred of him by eating pigs' trotters; they are also said to own hidden idols. The Nabatheans, dominated by their women, worship Maometh's wife. The Turks are so foul that, when females are not available, they consort with males, and when the latter are not handy they resort to bestiality — all this by Maometh's precept. The Kurds worship Saint George and identify him with *Haaly* ('Ali). The nomadic Turkomans or Parthians, too, indulge in intercourse with animals; in Maometh's festivals they eat dogs along with the charred remains of a suckling calf; those who desire to join them must swear, on the head of a sacrificed dog, to keep their customs. The author of our survey thus lists real-life groups alongside people he knew from biblical or classical sources. As for the traits he ascribes to these groups, some appear to derive from Catholic descriptions of the Saracens in general: the story that Maometh's body was devoured by dogs (or pigs) and therefore his followers would kill dogs every year in revenge,

¹⁰ Cf. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960), p. 79; Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962), p. 17, n. 11. In the 1190s Bernard of Pavia introduced this argument into canonistic literature: cf. Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'De iudeis et sarracenis. On the Categorization of Muslims in Medieval Canon Law,' in *Studia in honorem eminentissimi cardinalis Alphonsi M. Stickler*, ed. Rosalio J. Castillo Lara (Rome, 1992), p. 212 = Kedar, *Franks*, no. 13.

¹¹ On the ascription of these beliefs and practices to Saracens as such see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 17–22 (Maometh's prophethood), 166–174 (Christ born of the Virgin; denial of crucifixion), 135–137 (polygamy), 209–210 (ablution before prayer, with an emphasis on washing the private parts), 226 (prohibition of pork and wine, and circumcision).

¹² WT 19.21, p. 891. Ibn Hazm (d. 1064) attributed a similar view to an extreme Shi'ite group: see Etan Kohlberg, 'Western Studies of Shi'a Islam,' in *Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution*, ed. Martin Kramer (Boulder, 1987), pp. 31–32.

enjoyed wide circulation, while homosexual relations were repeatedly regarded as characteristic of Saracen practice.¹³ The allegations about nomads' intercourse with animals may, on the other hand, have been based on observation.

Our author appears to be on safer ground when he comes to deal with the martial qualities of the various Saracen groups. The Syrians are presented as not much trained in arms yet shrewd in commerce, relying in battle on bows and reedy lances exclusively — and lances and spears made of reed were indeed used at that time.¹⁴ The Egyptians are described as unfaithful and unstable, as still less prepared for warfare than the Syrians and as using poison instead of arms. On the other hand, the men from Arabia or Yemen are distinguished warriors, their horses as excellent as those of the Spaniards — a statement that ties in with Saladin's request, in the winter of 1189–90, for reinforcements and pure-blooded horses from Yemen.¹⁵ The Turks, said to derive from the nomad Turkomans, are characterized as very warlike men, who have instructed all other Saracens in warfare. But pride of place in matters military goes to the Kurds.

The passage dealing with the Kurds amounts to one of the most original parts of the survey. Other twelfth-century Western sources merely mention the Kurds by name: William of Tyre refers to the *Curdini* just once, relating that they formed part of the large army from Mosul that advanced on Antioch in 1098;¹⁶ the anonymous author of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* lists the *Cordini*, without placing any emphasis on them, among the components of Saladin's army in 1187;¹⁷ the *Planctus de amissione Terrae Sanctae* apparently mentions the *Curdi* within a lengthy list of largely biblical and classical peoples who purportedly invaded the Kingdom of Jerusalem in that year.¹⁸ Our survey, on the other hand, singles out the Kurds from all Saracens by referring solely to

¹³ Eg., *Notitia de Mahmeth pseudopropheta*, ed. M. C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Los textos antimahometanos más antiguos en códices españoles,' *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 45 (1970), 159; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 104–105, 142–146.

¹⁴ See David Nicolle, 'An Introduction to Arms and Warfare in Classical Islam,' in Robert Elgood (ed.), *Islamic Arms and Armour* (London, 1979), p. 181 and figs. 52–53 on p. 185; idem, *Islamische Waffen*, trans. Andreas Russegger (Graz, 1981), pp. 11–12. For descriptions of lance thrusts that appear to denote a predilection for that weapon see *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades. Memoirs of Usamah ibn Munqidh*, trans. Philip K. Hitti (New York, 1929), pp. 76–81; cf. David Nicolle, *Early Medieval Islamic Arms and Armour* [= *Gladius. Etudes sur les armes anciennes, l'armement, l'art militaire et la vie culturelle en Orient et Occident*, special volume] (Madrid, 1976), pp. 107–111.

¹⁵ See 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin (al-Fath al-qussi fi l-fath al-qudsi)*, trans. Henri Massé, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 10 (Paris, 1972), p. 206.

¹⁶ '...infinitas Persarum, Turcorum, Curdinatorum copias.' WT 5.14, p. 289.

¹⁷ 'Parthi, Bedewini, et Arabes, Medi, Cordini, et Egiptii.' *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. Hans E. Mayer, Schriften der MGH 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 256.

¹⁸ As this list starkly contrasts with the much more realistic one of our survey, it is worthwhile to cite it in full: 'Veniunt Hircanii, Curdi [?] & Meditae / Mauri atque Getuli, Barbari et Scythae, / Filii Moab, Ammon & et Ismaelitae; / Atque cum his omnibus sunt Amalechitae. // Turcos ac Massagetas precipit adesse; / Katari atque Sarmates nolunt hinc abesse; / Currunt Quadi, Vandili,

them as to *milites*; and it would appear that this term should be understood here to mean 'knights,' seeing that the anonymous author goes on to aver that the Kurds display 'nobilitatem maximam.' For him, they are the Saracens' best *milites*, who — resembling the Varangian Guard in Constantinople — serve as mercenaries with all Saracen rulers; for their part, the Kurds regard none but themselves and the Christians as the world's 'bonos milites.' As is well known, earlier writers presented the Turks as the Franks' worthiest Oriental opponents; their present substitution by the Kurds as the best fighting power of the Saracen realm may reflect impressions gathered during the siege of Acre in which Kurds played a major role. For instance, in the battle of 20 Sha'ban 585/3 October 1189, out of 14 Muslim commanders, three were Kurds, two of whom commanded Kurdish tribal units; three others were Ayyubid princes of Kurdish origin; and Saladin's lieutenant who led his army's centre was the Kurdish *faqih* Diya' al-Din 'Isa al-Hakkari. The commanders of Acre's garrison, first the obese Husam al-Din Abu l-Hayja ('*al-samin*') and later Sayf al-Din Abu l-Hasan 'Ali b. Ahmad al-Mashtub, were Kurds.¹⁹ It may be noted though that the fact that Saladin himself was a Kurd is not alluded to by our author.

The survey concludes with the announcement that in addition to the above-mentioned Saracen groups that served Saladin during the siege of Acre, the Christians had to face there other, formidable forces. In the first place, the caliph of Baghdad is said to have sent his preachers throughout the Orient and to have stirred up enormous numbers of people who, having obtained the remission of their sins according to Maometh's religion ('*facta venia peccatorum secundum legem Maometh*'), went forth to fight the Christians. Thus while other Latins would present the caliph as the pope's Saracen counterpart,²⁰ our author goes further and portrays the caliph as the pope's exact mirror-image in so far as the launching of Saladin's counter-crusade was concerned. The names of the peoples whom the caliph purportedly sent off to fight the Christians appear to have been largely lifted from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*,²¹ yet it would seem that our author is aware of the presence, in Saladin's camp, of warriors impelled by some

Medi atque Persae; / Undique conveniunt gentes sic diversae.' *Planctus de amissione Terrae Sanctae*, in Haymarus Monachus, *De expugnata Accone liber tetrastichus*, ed. Paul E. D. Riant (Lyon, 1866), p. 54.

¹⁹ For the Kurds' prominence at Acre see Vladimir F. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953), pp. 139–146; also, Malcolm C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin. The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 323, 329–330. The Kurds claimed to have suffered the heaviest losses during the final Muslim assault on the Frankish camp off Acre: *ibid.*, p. 331.

²⁰ Eg., the patriarch of Jerusalem and the masters of the Knights Hospitaller and Templar report to Innocent III from Acre that in Baghdad resides 'papa Saracenorum Caliphus, qui colitur, timetur et adoratur tamquam Romanus pontifex in lege eorum....In ista civitate de Baldach est papa Caliphus....' Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, *Chronica*, ed. C. A. Garufi, *RIS NS* 7/2: 56. For a discussion of this report see Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (1940; reprint, Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 8–10.

²¹ See the apparatus to the text edited in the Appendix.

spiritual motivation. It may be also noted that he mentions non-Christian — i.e., Islamicized — Armenians²² and lists them among the peoples roused by the caliph. Secondly, 'Massamutus',²³ prince of Africa — that is, the Almohad ruler of the Maghreb — is said to have recently established friendly relations with Saladin, and to have sent him a large army under the command of 'Garallus;' the names of the peoples that allegedly composed that army seem also to derive from the *Etymologiae*.

The assertion that both the caliph and the lord of the Muslim West supported Saladin and despatched to Acre ample contingents in his aid, runs in the face of the facts. Saladin's repeated efforts to enlist Caliph al-Nasir's support for his anti-Frankish *jihad* — efforts in which he directed the caliph's attention to the pope's role in organizing the crusade — bore no tangible fruit.²⁴ Likewise, Saladin's envoy to the Almohad caliph Abu Yusuf Ya'qub, apparently despatched early in 1190, did not succeed in securing his aid.²⁵ Perhaps the Muslims at Acre, waging a propaganda campaign against the crusaders, spread rumours to the effect that the caliph and the Almohad ruler were massively reinforcing Saladin, and that some crusaders accepted such rumours at face value. On the other hand, it is possible that our author, realizing that the siege of Acre was the longest and probably the costliest of his age and that it required the services of the pick of Catholic chivalry, assumed that the Saracen adversary, in his turn, rallied all available forces between India and the Atlantic.

Is it conceivable that this survey was composed at the siege of Acre? As none of its details disagrees with what a contemporary Latin may have known, and as the correct new information on the Kurds and the incorrect one on the help Saladin purportedly obtained from the caliphs al-Nasir and Abu Yusuf Ya'qub could have spread among the Christian besiegers of Acre, there is nothing to preclude the possibility that our survey was indeed written in their camp.²⁶

Finally, to what extent does the survey tie in with present-day knowledge about the composition of Saladin's forces? Several details — the lances made of reed,

²² On the Armenian ruler Mleh who in about 1170 became *infidelis* (that is, converted to Islam) and established an alliance with Nur al-Din see WT 20.26, p. 949; Runciman, *Crusades* 2:391–393, 395, 418–419.

²³ The report sent to Innocent III from Acre maintains that 'Maximutus' owns even more gold than 'Saphadinus', i. e. al-Malik al-Adil: Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, *Chronica*, RIS NS 7/2: 59.

²⁴ See Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade: Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades* (Paris, 1968), pp. 121–122; idem, 'Saladin et le calife al-Nasir,' in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 23, ed. David Asheri and Israel Shatzman (Jerusalem, 1972), p. 127; Hannes Möhring, *Saladin und der Dritte Kreuzzug. Aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen*, Frankfurter historische Abhandlungen 21 (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 111–113, 189–190.

²⁵ See the detailed discussion by Möhring, *Saladin*, pp. 192–209. Without spelling out his reasons, Harry W. Hazard conjectures that Ya'qub did send a small flotilla, but its impact on the fighting was negligible: Harry W. Hazard, 'Moslem North Africa, 1049–1394,' in Kenneth M. Setton (gen. ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3 (Madison, 1975), p. 469.

²⁶ Our author might have been surprised, though, to learn that, according to an eminent twentieth-century historian, 'pendant le siège de Saint-Jean-d'Acre....on organisait des tournois entre Richard

the excellence of Yemenite horses, the eminence of the Kurds, the convergence at Acre of warriors roused by Saracen preaching — are rooted in reality. As for the overall picture, it is worthwhile to juxtapose the survey's headings with those of Hamilton A.R. Gibb's well-known study of Saladin's armies:

Survey

Syrians

Towns: Damascus, Aleppo, Camela [=Hims]

Egyptians

Arabs or Sabeans

Idumeans and Ammonites

Nabatheans

Turks

Kurds

Turkomans

Warriors roused by the caliph's preachers

Africans

Gibb

The Egyptian army

The Syrian and Mesopotamian contingents:

Damascus, Hims, Hamah, Aleppo, Mosul
and the Jazira

The auxiliary forces:

Turkmens

Kurds

Arabs

Local militia troops

Volunteers for the *jihad*

Footsoldiers²⁷

The similarities between the two lists are striking; so are the differences. At first sight it would appear that our author got much of his picture right. Evidently the arrival of Muslim contingents from various regions²⁸ was noted in the crusader camp. Still, while listing correctly the main towns of Syria, our author exhibits no knowledge of Saladin's possessions in Mesopotamia, and his single reference to the area between the Red Sea and the Euphrates, in which he locates the effeminate, female-dominated Nabatheans who worship Maometh's wife, is clearly a figment of his imagination. More accurate information on this region will appear in the Lyon *Eracles*, whose present form apparently dates from the 1240s and whose author exhibits an unusual interest in internal Saracen affairs.²⁹ There it is stated that the *Cordins* live in 'la contree de Mede, ce est assaveir au Moussel et a Tecrit.'³⁰

Coeur de Lion et Saladin comme on organise un match entre l'Olympique de Marseille et Milan: Georges Duby, *An 1000 An 2000. Sur les traces de nos peurs* (Paris, 1995), p. 66.

²⁷ Hamilton A.R. Gibb, 'The Armies of Saladin,' *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne* 3 (1951), pp. 304–320 = idem, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (Boston, 1962), pp. 74–90.

²⁸ 'Imad al-Din, for instance, reports the arrival at Acre of troops from Egypt, Damascus, Hims, Shayzar, Aleppo, Harran, Baalbek: 'Imad al-Din, *Conquête*, trans. Massé, pp. 196, 200–201, 211–212, 216, 258.

²⁹ See Peter W. Edbury's article in the present volume.

³⁰ *Cont. WT*, p. 175. The author claims quite erroneously that al-'Adil, having poisoned his nephew al-Afdal, assembled in that country 'de Cordins et de memelous et d'autres gens,' and took Damascus with their help: *ibid*.

A closer examination of the two lists reveals however that much of their correspondence is deceptive. Saladin's Egyptian army consisted largely of Turkish mamluks, Kurdish and Turkmen regulars, and Arab auxiliaries — all capable warriors³¹ — yet Saladin's *Egyptii* of our survey are characterized by the low martial qualities conventionally ascribed to the natives of Egypt.³² Similarly, the *Syri* of the survey, described as not much trained in arms yet shrewd in commerce, are a far cry from Saladin's Turkish contingents from the various parts of Syria, who played so conspicuous a role in the fighting. Our author's remark that the *Syri* fight with bows and reedy lances may refer, though, to the lightly armed militia troops (*ajnad*) from Syria, some of whom appear to have fought at Acre.³³

Our author's opening statement reveals that he aimed at impressing his readers with the vast number of peoples that inhabited the Saracen world and sent contingents to the siege of Acre. Hence his emphasis on the variety of ethnic groups represented in Saladin's camp, an emphasis that blurs or conceals the quantitative and qualitative preponderance of the main elements of the sultan's army. It is significant, from this point of view, that our author does not mention at all the term 'Mamluk', or indeed any other Arabic expression. In this respect he unquestionably falls behind William of Tyre, who not only characterizes accurately the *Mameluc*, but distinguishes also between the ranks of the *Toassin* [i.e., *tawashi*] and the *Caragolam* [i.e., *qaraghulam*].³⁴ On the other hand, our author — unlike William of Tyre — does tell of Saracen preachers who stirred up large numbers of people to fight the crusaders. Yet neither of the two demonstrates a true understanding of the religious goals of Saracen fighting. Both writers, as well as other Latins, differ starkly in this respect from contemporaneous Muslim authors like 'Imad al-Din or Ibn al-Athir, who disclose a remarkably exact knowledge of crusader motivation.

Appendix

The text is edited from BL Royal 14 C. X (hereafter B), fol. 3rb–3vb, with variants from Cambridge, Magdalene College, F.4.22 (hereafter W), fol. 3va–4ra. Both manuscripts date from the first half of the thirteenth century.

³¹ Gibb, 'Armies,' pp. 304–311 = idem, *Studies*, pp. 74–78.

³² Cf. WT 19.25, p. 898: 'absque Egyptiis vilibus et effeminatis, qui potius impedimento et oneri essent quam utilitati.'

³³ On the Syrian *ajnad* and their possible presence at Acre see Gibb, 'Armies', p. 318 with n. 75 = idem, *Studies*, pp. 83, 89 n. 75.

³⁴ WT 21.22, p. 991. Cf. Gibb, 'Armies', p. 309 = idem, *Studies*, pp. 77, 87 nn. 31–32.

De diversitate Saracenorum et hostium Christianitatis et sectis et civitatibus eorum

Saracenorum plurime sunt gentes et varii populi diverso cultu et diversis nominibus appellati. Mendax enim vocabulum sibi imposuerunt, appellantes se Saracenos a Sara uxore Abrahe, cum se potius Agarenos ab Agar ancilla vocari debuissent. Fuerunt enim de Ysmaelitis et Ysmaelite dicuntur. Sed cum infiniti sunt populi et ex magna parte nobis ignoti, illos narrare sufficit qui sub Salaadino^a ad obsidionem Acconensem congregati sunt.

De Syris.^b Quorum primi sunt Syri, homines astuti, armis non multum exerciti, mercatores sagacissimi. Civitates nobiles et divites possident, Damascus, Alap, Camelam¹. Credentes de patre Christum divino fuisse progenitum et de Virgine Maria natum, sed de morte eius nil credunt. Dicunt enim quod cum Judei^c ipsum vellent interficere, aufugit in celum et Symonem Cyreneum pro se mori disposuit. Maometh^d dicunt prophetam. A vino et porcinis carnibus abstinent. Uxores habent plurimas. Pro omnibus armis arcu solummodo et lanceis arundineis utuntur.

De Egyptiis. Alii sunt Egyptii^e, homines infideles et instabiles, auguria pro diis colentes, magis inermes quam Syri, veneno pro armis utentes. Fluminis Nili irrigatione fertilitatem habent. Civitates nobiles possident, Alexandriam, Babilonem, Cayro, Damiatam, Daphnis et plures alias. Balsamum ipsi soli habent.² Cum ad orationem ascendunt vel accedunt, genitalia et cunctas inferiores partes abluunt, postmodum unum digitum sinistre manus in ano^f et alterum dextre manus in auricula sinistra tenentes, Maometh versus meridiem^g exclamant. Isti circumciduntur ut Judei.^e

De Arabibus sive Sabeis. Alii sunt Arabes, armis amplius prevalentes, equos habent optimos sicut Hispani^h, aures circumcidunt ut Judei^c prepuciumⁱ. Isti Sabei dicuntur. Thure abundant. Avis phenix ibi est. Myrra^j et aloë et cassia et cinamum inde proveniunt.³ Civitatem habent nobilem Filadelfiam. Haalin socium Maometh colunt^k.

De Ydumeis et Amonitis. Ydumei et Amonite rustici sunt Saracenorum et agros eorum excolunt^l. Funda et sudibus armati sunt. Maometh execrantur ob hoc quod stuprum sodomiticum concessit et in odium eius pedes porcorum et arietes comedunt. Ydola absconsa dicuntur habere.

^a Saladino W || ^b Siris W || ^c Judei W || ^d Moameth W || ^e Egyptii W || ^f in a no W || ^g meridiem W || ^h Hispani W || ⁱ preputium W || ^j Mirra W || ^k colint W || ^l excolint W

¹ Cf. WT 7.12, p. 359: 'Emissam, que vulgari appellatione Camela dicitur.' The town's Arabic name is Hims.

² On Egypt's balsam see for instance Thomas, ed., 'Tractat,' p. 155.

³ On *tus*, *myrra*, *aloe*, and *cassia* as growing in Arabia, see *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), 17.8.2,4,9,12. On the phoenix as *avis Arabiae* see *ibid.*, 17.7.

De Nabatheis.^m Nabetheiⁿ dicuntur homines imbelles et effeminati, inter Mare Rubrum et Eufraten.⁴ Quorum mulieres ipsis dominantur, nec tamen bellicose sunt sicut Amazones. Ibi sunt Aldigani. Uxorem Maometh solenniter^o colunt.

De Turcis. Turci^p de genere Turcomannorum i. Parthorum^q abstracti sunt, homines multum bellicosi, qui omnes alios Saracenos in armis instruxerunt. Rapinis et preda vivunt, quoslibet impotentes opprimunt. Immundissimi^r sunt: nam deficientibus mulieribus in masculos luxuriantur, quibus etiam deficientibus cum bestiis concumbunt, et hoc totum ex precepto Maometh.

De Cordinis. Cordini optimi milites sunt et armis decenter instructi. Nobilitatem maximam profitentur. Soldarii sunt per omnes principes Saracenos, sicut Anglici et Daci in Constantinopoli. Sanctum Georgium colunt et dicunt illum fuisse Haalyn^s socium Maometh. Nullos in mundo reputant bonos milites nisi seipsos et Christianos.

De Turcomannis. Turcomanni vel Parthi^t vagipalantes sunt, sicut et in tentoriis commorantes, nullam habentes patriam. Spurcissimi in coitu animalium. In sollennitatibus^u Maometh canes comedunt cum pulvere lactentis vituli. Isti congregati sunt de multis populis: de Cananeis, de Philisteis, de Amorreis^v, de Jebuseis, de Ferezeis, de Amalechitis. Nam omnes qui in propria patria molestantur, ad eos fugiunt et fiunt de ipsis, iurantes vitam et mores eorum super caput canis immolati.

Omnes populos supradictos subiugavit sibi Salaadinus et contra Christianos adduxit in obsidione Acconensi. Calyphus^w vero de Baldac, qui est princeps et pontifex legis saracenicæ, per totum Orientem suos predicatorum direxit et, facta venia peccatorum secundum legem Maometh, ingentes populos et plurima regna adversus Dominum et adversus Christum eius commovit: Gangaride⁵ videlicet, Yrcanos, Bactrianos, Parthos, Assyrios,^y Elamitas, Persas et Medos,⁶ Capadoces,⁷ Sabacenos,⁸ Chaldeos, et partem Armeniorum. Nam alia pars Christiani sunt. Massamatus quoque, qui est princeps Affrice, facta nuper amicitia cum Salaadino^z, misit ei ducem Garallum cum exercitu magno Assyriorum, Getulorum, Maurorum, Garamantum,⁹ Magitrogoditorum¹⁰ et aliorum plurimorum.

^m Nabateis W || ⁿ Nabatheis W || ^o solemniter W || ^p Turcii W || ^q added in margin: i. Parthorum B Partorum W || ^r immundissimi W || ^s Haalin W || ^t added in margin: vel Parthi B || ^u sollempnitatibus W || ^v Amoreis W || ^w Caliphus W || ^x Saracenorum W || ^y Assirios W || ^z Saaladino W

⁴ Cf. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 14.3.26: 'Nabatheia regio...surgens ab Euphrate in mare Rubrum porrigitur.'

⁵ cf. ibid., 9.2.41: 'Gangaridae populi sunt inter Assyrios Indosque, habitantes circa Gangem fluvium.'

⁶ ibid., 9.2.42: Hircani; 9.2.43: Bactriani; 9.2.44: Parthi; 9.2.45: Assyrii; 9.2.46-47: Medi, Persae.

⁷ ibid., 9.2.30: Cappadoces.

⁸ ibid., 9.2.16: Sabatheni.

⁹ ibid., 9.2.118: Getuli; 9.2.120: Mauri; 9.2.125: Garamantes.

¹⁰ Cf. ibid., 9.2.129: Trochoditae gens Aethiopum.

Les révoltes chypriotes de 1191–1192 et les inféodations de Guy de Lusignan

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Un passage bien connu de la continuation de Guillaume de Tyr¹ rapporte que Guy de Lusignan, quand il prit possession de Chypre, aurait demandé conseil à Saladin — dont il avait été le captif en 1187–1188 — sur les moyens à employer pour assurer sa domination. Le sultan lui aurait fait répondre: 'Dites au roi Gui que s'il viaut que l'isle soit toute soe, qu'il la donne toute.' On ne peut affirmer la réalité de ce propos; mais il est certain que Guy procéda à une très large distribution de terres et de maisons à tous ceux qui voulaient bien s'établir en Chypre. Il lui restait seulement, dit-on, la valeur de vingt fiefs de chevaliers; 300 de ces fiefs et 200 fiefs de sergents à cheval (notamment de turcoples) avaient été concédés, à quoi s'ajoutent des tenures en bourgeoisie.²

Il fallut que son successeur, Aimery, procédât à une révision de ces concessions — sans doute à la faveur d'une nouvelle évaluation des revenus sur lesquels étaient constitués les fiefs. On sait que, lorsqu'il voulut établir l'Eglise latine de Chypre, il ne disposait pas d'assez de 'casaux' pour doter les évêchés et qu'il proposa même au pape de substituer à une dotation foncière des rentes en argent. Et l'évêque de Famagouste fut obligé de désintéresser par une rente viagère le chevalier à qui avait été enlevé le casal cédé par le roi à son église.³ Certes, Aimery était parvenu à reconstituer un domaine royal substantiel (on évaluait son revenu à 200.000 ou 300.000 besants blancs).⁴ Mais l'importance des concessions du roi Guy reste considérable. Et, en fait, c'est ce qui permit de donner au royaume une structure solide.⁵

Comment le 'seigneur de Chypre' avait-il été en mesure de disposer de toute la masse de terres et des revenus sur lesquels il avait pu prélever tous les fiefs et tenures qu'il avait distribués? Ce que nous savons de la situation de l'île avant l'arrivée des Francs⁶ nous fait entrevoir une structure de la propriété comparable

¹ *Cont. WT*, p. 138–139.

² *Ernoul*, p. 287–288.

³ Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. et trad. R.M. Dawkins, 2 vol. (Oxford, 1932), §28.

⁴ Louis de Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 3 vol. (Paris, 1855–61), 3:635.

⁵ L'importance relative du domaine royal (la 'régale') et des fiefs ressort du compte des dîmes du diocèse de Limassol qui date, à vrai dire, de 1367: Jean Richard, *Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)* (Paris, 1962), p. 64–67.

⁶ Jean-Louis Cheynet, 'Chypre à la veille de la conquête franque,' dans *Les Lusignan et l'outre-mer* (Poitiers, 1993), p. 69–77.

à celles des autres territoires de l'empire byzantin: le fisc impérial disposant de domaines importants, et levant des impôts sur l'ensemble de la population, impôts dont le revenu, avec celui des domaines impériaux, était administré par une institution qui devint sous les rois francs la 'secrète' et qui tenait un cadastre qui servit sans nul doute tant à Guy pour procéder à ses inféodations qu'à Aimery pour réviser celles-ci.⁷ L'impôt, sous ses diverses formes, rapportait avant la conquête quelque 50.000 *nomismata* par an. Mais le sol chypriote était partagé entre des propriétaires fonciers qui exerçaient des droits de caractère seigneurial sur leurs tenanciers, droits qui devaient être maintenus sous le régime franc.⁸ Les propriétaires de grands domaines appartenaient à l'aristocratie byzantine et souvent à de grandes familles constantinopolitaines, tels les Boutoumitès ou les Kontostéphanos, ainsi qu'à des monastères, tantôt fondés par ces derniers, tantôt extérieurs à l'île: on connaît les domaines de Saint-Georges des Manges, du Sinaï, de Saint-Théodose.⁹ L'usurpation du titre impérial par Isaac Comnène, précédemment gouverneur d'un territoire qui englobait Adalia, la Cilicie et Chypre, et qui avait dû se contenter de Chypre, avait entraîné la confiscation de certains des domaines de l'aristocratie et d'une aggravation de la fiscalité, ce qui devait favoriser le ralliement des grands propriétaires à Richard Cœur-de-Lion.

Mais nous avons une autre source d'information qui nous vient du rapport établi à l'intention de Venise par le bayle Marsilio Zorzi, qui décrit ce qu'étaient les possessions des Vénitiens dans l'île avant 1190.¹⁰

Nous apprenons ainsi qu'à côté de la société byzantine, déjà composite, puisque des Arméniens, des Syriens de diverses obédiences (dont les Maronites) se mêlaient aux éléments grecs, s'était établie une colonie latine comprenant notamment des Vénitiens. Ceux-ci fréquentaient déjà le port de Limassol en 1139, antérieurement donc au chrysobulle de Manuel Comnène qui leur ouvrait les ports de Chypre,¹¹ et à la fin du XII^{ème} siècle, ils possédaient à Limassol une église Saint-Marc, avec un baptistère dédié à Saint-Jean, des maisons, des boutiques, des jardins qui en dépendaient, des 'cours,' des terres, un bain. Hors

⁷ On sait par Florio Bustron que chaque fief était évalué en raison du nombre de chevaliers ou d'autres combattants qu'il devait fournir au roi. Le roi était ainsi en mesure de se faire payer une taxe de remplacement, analogue à l'écuage anglais, appelée 'défaut de service.' Les actes que nous possédons montrent que la secrète tenait à jour l'état des fiefs et de leur valeur.

⁸ Gilles Grivaud, 'Florio Bustron et les institutions franco-byzantines afférentes au régime agraire de Chypre à l'époque vénitienne,' *Meletai kai Ypomnemata* 2 (1982), 531-598.

⁹ Sur ce dernier, qui conservait ses domaines dans le royaume franc, cf. Jean Richard, 'Un monastère grec de Palestine et son domaine chypriote,' dans *Praktika B' Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou*, 2 vol. (Nicosie, 1986), 2:61-95.

¹⁰ Ce texte, publié par G.M. Thomas, 'Ein Bericht über die ältesten Besitzungen der Venezianer auf Cypern,' dans *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Kl. der kgl. Bayerischen Akademie*, 1878, p. 143-157, a été réédité de façon critique par Oliver Berggötz, *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi. Codex Querini-Stampalia IV, 3 (1064)* (Francfort, 1991), p. 184-191, et commenté par Eutychia Papadopoulou, 'Oi prôtes egkatastaseis Benetôn stên Kypro,' *Symmeikta* [Athènes] 5 (1983), 303-332.

¹¹ R. Morozzo della Rocca et A. Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI-XIII*, 2 vol. (Torino, 1940), 1:77.

de la ville, on les trouve en possession de domaines ruraux, des 'casaux,' comme Monagroulli, Kellaki, Pyrgon, Trakhoni, Palodia, et un grand nombre de *prasteia*, des vignes à Silikou (le Solic) où Jean Michiel avait sa maison et son pressoir. A Nicosie, ils possèdent une église Saint-Nicolas et plusieurs maisons; à Paphos, une autre église Saint-Nicolas. Ces possessions leur viennent soit d'acquisitions, soit d'héritages provenant de mariages avec des Grecques. On trouve parmi eux des Bertrami, des Venier, des Rossi, des Michieli, des Zani, des Zirini; certains exercent le métier de changeurs; mais les activités marchandes se doublent de propriétés foncières. Cette colonie, qui ne semble pas avoir été affectée par les émeutes anti-vénitiennes de Constantinople, paraît bien intégrée dans la société chypriote. Or ce sont les Latins de Limassol qui ont, lors du débarquement de Richard Coeur-de-Lion, invité le roi d'Angleterre à prendre possession de la ville, eux aussi ayant abandonné sans hésiter le parti d'Isaac Comnène.¹²

La facilité avec laquelle le roi d'Angleterre s'empara de l'île toute entière au cours du seul mois de mai 1191 fut précisément due au ralliement des grands de Chypre autour de lui: le lendemain même de l'occupation de Limassol et de la défaite subie par l'armée d'Isaac, 'beaucoup de comtes et de barons du royaume' vinrent à lui et 'se firent ses hommes et lui jurèrent fidélité contre l'empereur et lui donnèrent des otages.' Un moment même, Isaac parut sur le point de faire lui aussi hommage au roi.¹³ Et, après la capitulation d'Isaac, Richard accorde une charte à tous les comtes, barons et hommes de l'île: moyennant la cession de ceux-ci lui faisaient de la moitié de leurs biens, le roi leur confirmait les droits et les institutions dont ils jouissaient au temps de l'empereur Manuel, en abolissant donc les nouvelles charges instituées par Isaac.¹⁴

Richard avait donc fait jouer le droit de conquête, qui lui aurait permis de s'approprier tous les domaines de Chypre, mais en limitant l'application. Ce qui lui assurait d'emblée un domaine susceptible de lui apporter un beau revenu. Mais les grands propriétaires, restés maîtres de la moitié de leurs terres, constituaient un vasselage dans lequel le roi d'Angleterre n'avait pas introduit de nouveaux éléments, à notre connaissance du moins. Les deux justiciers à qui il confiait la garde de l'île, Robert de Thornham¹⁵ et Richard de Camville, en dehors des quelques troupes prélevées sur l'armée du roi d'Angleterre, devaient donc gouverner Chypre avec la coopération d'une aristocratie qui restait 'byzantine' et dont la structure n'était pas modifiée. Nous ignorons si Richard envisageait de maintenir ce type de domination qui aurait associé les grands de l'île à un roi occidental, celui-ci ayant la possibilité de créer un certain nombre de fiefs à

¹² George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vol. (Cambridge, 1940-52), 1:318.

¹³ 'Benedict of Peterborough,' *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vol., RS 49 (London, 1867-69), 2:164-165.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 168. Selon l'*Itinerarium regis Ricardi* et Ambroise (qui procèdent de la même source), Richard exigeait aussi d'eux qu'ils se rasent la barbe en signe de soumission.

¹⁵ Sur ce personnage, cf. Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 7, n. 15.

l'intention de ses propres fidèles — type de domination dont il aurait pu trouver des modèles dans le royaume de Sicile.¹⁶

La mort de Richard de Camville fut l'occasion d'un complot qui, selon Roger de Hoveden, avait été fomenté par ceux des Grecs et des Arméniens qui ne s'étaient pas soumis au roi.¹⁷ D'autres ont pensé qu'il s'agissait d'un mouvement populaire qui serait intervenu dans les montagnes. Les rebelles élirent comme empereur un moine qu'on disait parent d'Isaac. Mais Robert de Thornham se porta immédiatement contre eux, s'empara de ce personnage et le fit pendre.

Est-ce cet épisode, ou bien le besoin d'argent dont souffrait le roi d'Angleterre, qui décida ce dernier à offrir de céder l'île aux Templiers? Ceux-ci, selon Ernoul, n'acceptèrent cette offre qu'avec hésitation: il est vrai que le roi leur demandait 100.000 besants d'or. Un chroniqueur nous dit qu'ils entendaient gouverner Chypre comme s'il s'était agi d'un de leurs domaines ruraux de Syrie, traitant leurs nouveaux sujets sans ménagement, et en y mettant une faible garnison. Ils suscitèrent chez les Grecs de l'île un vif ressentiment, et l'imposition d'une *carcia* par besant (2,08%) sur les transactions dans les marchés, qu'ils créèrent pour s'assurer des rentrées supplémentaires en vue de payer la somme due à Richard, amena les habitants de l'île, ou du moins ceux de Nicosie, à former un complot en vue d'assassiner tous les Templiers le jour du samedi saint (5 avril). Prévenu à temps, le frère Arnaud Bochard rassembla tous ses hommes dans la forteresse de Nicosie. Il demanda la libre sortie à ceux qui l'assiégeaient. Comme on la lui refusa, il lança la garnison contre les rebelles dont on fit, nous dit-on, un copieux massacre qui s'étendit au-delà de Nicosie.¹⁸ Mais le Temple, estimant que la conservation de l'île serait trop onéreuse, demanda au roi d'Angleterre l'annulation de la vente (40.000 besants avaient déjà été versés). On sait comment Guy de Lusignan s'offrit alors à rembourser la somme promise au roi; et, étant parvenu à se procurer les 40.000 besants, il prit possession de l'île.

Si la révolte de 1191 avait été le fait seulement de quelques éléments, celle de 1192 paraît avoir été beaucoup plus grave, et elle ne pouvait que décider Guy de Lusignan à asseoir sa seigneurie sur l'implantation d'une féodalité latine suffisamment nombreuse, ainsi que d'une bourgeoisie capable de tenir les villes. Ceci signifiait la renonciation au système de gouvernement envisagé par Richard Coeur-de-Lion; les engagements pris par ce dernier envers l'aristocratie de l'île pouvaient être considérés comme vidés de leur contenu du fait de la collusion très probable de ces 'grands' avec les rebelles. Et nous sommes tentés de placer

¹⁶ On a même suggéré que Richard aurait pu confier l'île à un dynaste grec qui aurait tenu Chypre de lui: Edbury, *Kingdom*, p. 7. Cf. James Brundage, 'The Crusade of Richard I' et 'Richard the Lion-Heart and Byzantium,' réimprimé dans son *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law* (Aldershot, 1991), N. 3, 4.

¹⁷ 'Qui ad pacem regis nondum venerant:' Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vol., RS 51 (London, 1868-71), 3:172-173. Cf. Hill, *History* 2:34.

¹⁸ Hill, *History* 2:36-37; *Cont. WT*, p. 134-135; Ernoul, p. 273, 284; *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. R. de Mas-Latrie, 2 vol. (Paris, 1891-93), 1:83-85.

à ce moment la confiscation massive des grands domaines à laquelle Guy de Lusignan se livra.

Cette confiscation nous est attestée par la biographie de Néophyte le Reclus selon laquelle les grands propriétaires se virent enlever leurs maisons, leur bétail, leurs terres et leurs autres biens, les plus heureux étant ceux qui purent se réfugier à Constantinople.¹⁹ Sans doute faut-il nuancer cette affirmation: la biographie de Georges de Chypre nous apprend que, bien qu'appauvris, les *eleftères* de l'île continuèrent à jouir d'une certaine aisance et à former une petite noblesse qui se mit facilement au service des conquérants.²⁰

Ces confiscations touchèrent également l'Eglise grecque, à l'exception de certains monastères vénérés par les Latins — ceux de Palestine en particulier. Mais, contrairement à ce qu'ont écrit les auteurs plus tardifs, comme Makhairas, ce n'est pas l'Eglise latine (d'ailleurs encore absente de Chypre) qui bénéficia de ces confiscations: le pape Honorius III devait par la suite s'indigner que ces biens ecclésiastiques n'aient pas été transférés au clergé latin — ils avaient servi à doter les feudataires laïcs.²¹

Ce transfert de propriétés n'a pas épargné les propriétaires vénitiens, que nous avons vus intégrés à la société chypriote; pas plus que les bourgeois grecs.²² Le document de 1243 que nous avons déjà cité témoigne de l'ampleur de leur dépossession. Le roi a pris pour demeure, à Nicosie, la maison qu'avait fait construire Leonardo Sabatini. A Limassol, il a fait bâtir un *fondouk* et un four sur des terres qui avaient appartenu à des Vénitiens. L'évêque latin et son chapitre ont pris possession de l'église Saint-Marc, de plusieurs maisons et boutiques, et d'un jardin dépendant de celle-ci. Les Templiers, les Hospitaliers, les Frères Blancs, les Génois, les Pisans, les Provençaux jouissent de biens qui avaient été ceux de Vénitiens; il en est de même pour des chevaliers, des arbalétriers. Notons que la dépossession n'est pas complète. Parmi les nouveaux occupants, on rencontre des héritiers des anciens propriétaires qui ont su faire valoir leurs droits.²³ On y rencontre aussi des Grecs.

Hors de la cité, les casaux et les presteries ont aussi changé de mains. Les Templiers ont réuni plusieurs domaines vénitiens, tant à Trakhoni qu'à Mesayitonia; les Hospitaliers possèdent Kellaki, qui était à Vivien Bono; un turcople Ayia Korona; le casal de Palodhia, qui appartenait à Gervasio de Canale, a désormais un seigneur franc, le chevalier Jean de Pelotes... Ainsi ne rencontre-t-on plus de casaux aux mains de propriétaires grecs: unité fiscale, le *khôrion* a fait l'objet d'une concession en fief qui porte à la fois sur le revenu

¹⁹ PG 137:497-499.

²⁰ PG 142:19. Cf. Gilles Grivaud, 'Les Lusignan et leurs archontes chypriotes,' dans *Les Lusignan et l'outre-mer*, p. 150-158.

²¹ Le concordat de 1222 entérina cependant cette dépossession, irrégulière au regard du droit canonique.

²² Ainsi voit-on le roi Hugues Ier céder aux Hospitaliers la maison et les terres que possédaient à Limassol Limbitios Sabastos et sa soeur: *Cart Hosp* 2:121-122.

²³ Faut-il supposer que les propriétaires absents ont été spécialement atteints par les confiscations?

des anciens impôts publics — la *strateia*, le *démosion* — et sur la propriété de la terre, et ces concessions sont faites à peu près exclusivement aux chevaliers, turcoples ou autres qui ont constitué l'armature militaire de l'île. Les anciens propriétaires conservent des propriétés territoriales, des manoirs, des tenures qui leur doivent des redevances: ils forment une petite noblesse qui vit sur ses terres, s'adonne à la chasse, étudie les lettres grecques et parfois latines (c'est le cas de Georges de Chypre). Sans être 'riches et puissants,' ils forment une catégorie sociale particulière, et sans doute détiennent-ils de ces 'terres franches' — que nous pourrions assimiler à des alleux — qui sont assujettis au paiement des dîmes aux églises latines, malgré les revendications du clergé grec.²⁴

Pour le clergé latin, en dehors des donations faites à des abbayes ou à des chapitres par le roi ou les seigneurs, qui en prélèvent les éléments sur leur domaine ou sur leurs fiefs, son établissement a nécessité un autre prélèvement sur la dotation du roi, lors de la négociation que mena Aimery de Lusignan en 1196. Cette dotation représentait assez peu de chose, et c'est le montant des dîmes perçues sur les revenus seigneuriaux, selon le modèle en vigueur à Jérusalem, qui a fait l'essentiel des ressources des évêques latins et de leurs chapitres. Nous savons qu'il n'y a pas eu transfert des propriétés des évêchés grecs aux évêchés latins, pas plus qu'appropriation des dîmes, que le clergé grec ne levait pas avant 1191.²⁵

Le roi Guy avait-il suivi le conseil de Saladin ou agi de sa propre initiative? Toujours est-il qu'il a doté sa nouvelle seigneurie d'une solide armature sociale et militaire, en recourant aux éléments francs et aussi syriens.²⁶ Pour y parvenir, il lui a fallu revenir sur la charte concédée à ses nouveaux sujets chypriotes par le roi Richard, et procéder à la confiscation de domaines dont ce dernier avait reconnu la possession à l'aristocratie byzantine, y compris au détriment de ces Vénitiens qui appartenaient à la fois au rite latin et à la communauté byzantine. Il semble difficile qu'il ait pu revenir sur ces concessions autrement qu'en prenant argument des révoltes de 1191 et de 1192, par lesquelles les sujets du roi d'Angleterre et des Templiers avaient rompu le serment qu'ils avaient prêté au premier. Les confiscations de 1192-94 prendraient ainsi l'aspect d'une sanction châtiante les coupables ou les fauteurs de ces rébellions.

²⁴ Jean Richard, 'Le paiement des dîmes dans l'Orient latin,' *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 150 (1992), 71-83.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Parmi ceux-ci figurent les turcoples, qui sont eux aussi dotés d'un fief, que Florio Bustron évalue à 40 ducats, si le turcople sert 'à deux chevaux,' et à 20, s'il ne doit le service qu'avec un seul cheval. 'Chronique de l'île de Chypre par Florio Bustron,' éd. R. de Mas-Latrie, *Mélanges historiques. Choix de documents*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1896), p. 52 et 462-463. Cf. Jean Richard, 'Les Turcoples au service des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre,' *Revue des études islamiques* 56 (1986), 259-270 = idem, *Croisades et états latins d'Orient* (Aldershot, 1992), N. 10; et idem, 'Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIII^e siècle,' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979), 157-173 = idem, *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs* (London, 1983), N. 7.

Bemerkungen zur *Forma iustitiae inter Venetos et Francigenas* vom März 1207

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Nachdem die Beziehungen zwischen den Kreuzfahrern des 4. Kreuzzugs und den Venezianern in einer Reihe von Abmachungen auf eine verlässliche juristische Basis gestellt worden waren, klärten Jahre später im März 1207 Kaiser Heinrich und der venezianische Podestà von Konstantinopel eine Reihe offener Fragen.¹ Diese *Forma iustitiae inter Venetos et Francigenas* wirft eine Reihe von diplomatischen Fragen auf, denen hier nachgegangen werden soll. Vor allem wird die Herkunft der Regelungen untersucht werden, die byzantinischem, westeuropäischem oder aber venezianischem Recht entsprochen haben können.

Im byzantinischen Bereich hatten die Venezianer, nachdem das Privileg von 992 offenbar keine Anwendung mehr fand, erst im Jahre 1198 umfangreiche Verbesserungen ihrer Rechtsstellung erreicht.² Man regelte im Detail Fragen des Prozeßrechts wie auch andere Probleme. Auch hier lassen sich jene Tendenzen feststellen, die überall im venezianischen Interesse lagen: Festlegung des zuständigen Gerichts, Verkürzung von Fristen, Sicherung des Besitzes.³ Diese Rechtstitel hatten sie sich bereits früh mit allen anderen Privilegien auch im lateinischen Kaiserreich gesichert,⁴ die *Forma iustitiae* geht darüber jedoch noch hinaus. Zudem betrifft sie das Verhältnis zu den Kreuzfahrern, die Beziehungen zur griechischen Bevölkerung sind davon nicht betroffen. Es ist deshalb nicht zu erwarten, daß sich der Vertrag an den byzantinischen Privilegien orientieren würde. Doch woher kommen die Rechtsbestimmungen?

Fragen des Handschriftenvergleichs verbieten sich, da sich das Original nicht erhalten hat, und den Diktatvergleich macht die rudimentäre Überlieferung des lateinischen Kaiserreichs unmöglich. Die Überlieferung des Stückes ist nicht günstig, allein eine vielfach korrumpierte Abschrift in der Biblioteca Marciana ist

¹ TTh 2:49–52, Nr. 180. Benjamin Hendrickx, 'Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272),' *Byzantina* 14 (1988), 7–200 (hier S. 58 Nr. 72).

² TTh 1:246–278 Nr. 85 = *I trattati con Bisanzio 991–1198*, a cura di Marco Pozza e Giorgio Ravegnani, *Pacta Veneta* 4 (Venezia, 1993) S. 119–137 = Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* 2 (München, 1925), Reg. 1647; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und Angeli (1081–1204)* (Amsterdam, 1984), S. 41–49.

³ Für das Königreich Jerusalem vgl. Marie-Luise Favreau, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)* (Amsterdam, 1989), S. 438–461, für Norditalien Gerhard Rösch, *Venedig und das Reich. Handels- und verkehrspolitische Beziehungen in der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (Tübingen, 1982), S. 47–77.

⁴ TTh 1:446.

auf uns gekommen. Sie läßt immerhin erkennen, daß es sich bei den Abmachungen um eine Einigung des Kaisers und des Podestà mit Zustimmung ihrer jeweiligen Räte handelt, die am Ende mit den Siegeln des Imperators und des venezianischen Vertreters gesiegelt waren. Das Formular ist, wie das bei Verträgen manchmal zu sein pflegt, äußerst knapp gehalten: Ein Einleitungssatz, der feststellt, daß hier niedergeschrieben ist, was beide Seiten vereinbart haben.⁵ Damit handelt es sich bei der Urkunde also um eine Art Protokoll der Vereinbarungen. Immerhin steht am Ende eine Corroboratio, die auf die Siegel als Beglaubigung verweist: *Et ut hec omnia suprascripta rata et firma sint, dominus Imperator et dominus Potestas sigillorum suorum munimine presentem formam fecerunt roborari*. Über die Technik des Vertragsschlusses selbst gestattet dies kein Urteil. Und damit stellt sich die Frage, wer eigentlich das Dokument verfaßt haben könnte und wessen Interessen hier berücksichtigt sind. Ein Notar, wie es venezianischer Brauch wäre, ist nicht genannt, gleichwohl könnte es ein Venezianer formuliert haben. Besaß doch der Podestà die bei weitem effektivste Beurkundungsstelle in Konstantinopel.⁶ Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Kaiser von Konstantinopel war alles andere als ein Zentrum einer effektiven Verwaltung, ihr Zustand entsprach eher dem allgemeinen Zustand dieses kurzlebigen Kreuzfahrerstaates.⁷ Immerhin zeigt sie deutlich das Bemühen der lateinischen Kaiser, auch an byzantinische Traditionen anzuknüpfen. Von der kunstvollen Diplomatie des Vertragsschlusses, den die Byzantiner pflegten, ist hier jedoch nichts zu spüren.⁸

Im Jahre 1205 hatten Venezianer und fränkische Herren vereinbart, daß man einen gemeinsamen Ausschuß bilden wolle, der von beiden Seiten beschickt werden sollte. Neben dem als Regenten fungierenden Heinrich waren hier Barone

⁵ TTh 2:49: *Notum sit omnibus, quod hec est forma iustitie, quam dominus Henricus Imperator et dominus Marino, Venetorum Potestas in Romania, cum eorum consilio inter Venetos et Francigenas tenendam pariter constituerunt.*

⁶ Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age. Le développement et l'exploration du domain colonial vénitien (XIIIe-XVIe siècles)* (Paris, 1959); Robert L. Wolff, 'A New Document from the Period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople: The Oath of the Venetian Podestà,' *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et de l'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 12 = *Mélanges Grégoire* 4 (Bruxelles, 1953), S. 539–573; Silvano Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo* (Napoli, 1966); David Jacoby, 'The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance,' *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 43 (1993), 141–201, hier S. 146–147; Chrysos Maltezos, 'Il quartiere veneziano di Costantinopoli,' *Thesaurismata* 15 (1978), 30–61.

⁷ Jean Longnon, 'Notes sur la diplomatie de l'empire latin de Constantinople,' in *Mélanges Félix Grat* 2 (Paris, 1949), S. 3–18; Benjamin Hendrickx, 'Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261): La chancellerie,' *Acta Classica. Verhandelingen van die klassieke Vereniging van Suid-Afrika* 19 (1976), 123–131; Walter Prevenier, 'La chancellerie de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261),' in *The Latin Empire. Some Contributions* (Hernon, 1990), S. 63–82; Antonio Carile, 'La cancelleria sovrana dell'impero latino di Costantinopoli (1204–1261),' *Studi Veneziani* n.s. 2 (1978), 37–73.

⁸ Franz Dölger/Johannes Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre* 1, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 12/3,1,1 (München, 1968), S. 94ff.

vertreten, der Podestà Venedigs in der Romania und seine sechs *consilarii*.⁹ Damit war in Regierungsfragen ein Gremium geschaffen, das die Gleichberechtigung der Venezianer auch formal zum Ausdruck brachte. Und es ist offenbar dieses Gremium gewesen, das nun die *Forma iustitiae* beschlossen hat. Neu sind aber nicht nur die Bestimmungen des Vertrags, denn man hat offenbar jetzt einen eigenen Gerichtshof für die Klagen installiert, dessen Ordnungsprinzipien in der Urkunde niedergelegt sind. Und dies entspricht Tendenzen, die Venedig auch in Italien verfolgte: Erstmals in einem Vertrag mit Ferrara erscheinen *virī bone opinionis nobiles scilicet et instructi ad causas Ferrariensium diffiniendas*, 1204 werden bereits *iudices Veneciarum* für diese Angelegenheiten zuständig, und 1209 ist erstmals vom venezianischen Fremdengericht, den *iudices forincensi* die Rede.¹⁰ Eine Urkunde des Jahres 1210 nennt dann auch einen *iudex furisterorum* in Konstantinopel.¹¹

Betrachtet man nun den Inhalt der Abmachungen, so betrifft dieser drei große Rechtsbereiche: 1. Es werden eine Reihe von Verfahrensfragen geklärt, die bei einem Zivilprozeß zwischen Venezianern und Franken zu beachten sind. 2. In einen Grenzbereich zwischen Zivilprozeß und Strafprozeß fallen Fragen, die den Erwerb von gestohlenem Gut betreffen. 3. Am Ende wird die Frage des Diebstahls und Raubes zwischen Venezianern und Franken strafrechtlich und verfahrensrechtlich geregelt. Vergleicht man nun diese drei Problemkomplexe mit den venezianischen Statuten und Pacta, so lassen sich trotz der ungünstigen Überlieferung eine Reihe von Fragen lösen.

I

Im ersten Teil der *Forma iustitiae* wird eine Reihe von Fragen des Prozeßrechts geklärt, wobei der Charakter der Bestimmungen verrät, daß es sich um Verfahren handelt, die für Kaufleute vorteilhaft sind: Einfache Ladung, vereinfachtes Verfahren, das auch zu schnellen Urteilen führt, Dinge also, die der fahrende Händler als Voraussetzung seines Berufs ansah. Deshalb kann man davon ausgehen, daß es Anliegen der Venezianer waren, die hier formuliert wurden. Sucht man nach entsprechenden Bestimmungen, so wird man in den Pacta fündig, die Venedig mit anderen Handelspartnern abgeschlossen hatte.¹² Die Ähnlichkeiten mit den oberitalienischen Stadtverträgen sind deutlich. In fast gleichlautenden Verträgen mit Ferrara (1191), Verona (1193), Treviso (1198),

⁹ Jacoby, 'The Venetian Presence,' S. 147.

¹⁰ Zu diesem Problemkreis vgl. Rösch, *Venedig und das Reich*, S. 50–51.

¹¹ A. Sacerdoti, 'Le colleganze nella pratica degli affari,' *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti* 59 (1899), 40 Nr. 11, 1210 März (*more Veneto?*).

¹² Bernardino Ghetti, *I patti tra Venezia e Ferrara dal 1191 al 1313* (Roma, 1906), S. 161–166; Carlo Cipolla, 'Note di storia veronese. Trattati commerciali e politici del sec. XII inediti o imperfettamente noti,' *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 15 (1898), 316–318; A.S. Minotto, *Acta et diplomata e R. tabulario veneto chronologico ordine ac principum rerum ratione inde a recessiore tempore usque ad medium saeculum XIV summatim regesta* 1–4 (Venezia, 1870ff.), 2/1:24–25; Melchior Roberti,

Padua (1209), Cervia (1226) und Bologna (1227) hatte man das Gerichtsverfahren geregelt.¹³ Dort sind die Vorlagen der *Forma iustitiae* zu suchen. Mit Genua hat Venedig dann im Jahre 1218 ebenfalls ein Abkommen geschlossen, das den Prozeß im Detail regelte, doch sind hier die Probleme andere.¹⁴

Pactum Ferrarie:

Si Veneticus de Ferrariensi deposuerit questionem, non habeat nisi unum preceptum.

Et facta querela, debet Ferrariensis confiteri vel se tueri per sacramentum. Quod si facere noluerit, condempnetur secundum depositam contra eum querelam.

Et si vocatus non venerit, pro Venetiani debet sacramento condempnari.

Forma iustitiae:

Si quis Venetus quesierit rationem super Francigenam, ad primum preceptum veniat in curiam ad Venetum respondendum: de quanto quesiverit et dixerit unus alteri, qualicunque modo debet dari.

Et si de hoc non est cartula neque sunt testes, ille, qui fuerit appellatus, debet iurare quod non est verum; et si hoc facere noluerit, debet integre pagare illum, qui appellavit eum secundum petitionem.

Et si ille, qui fuit appellatus, non venerit in curiam propter preceptum, ille qui appellat, debet iurare, quod omnia, que querit, vera sint, et debet esse de tanto pagatus.

Was wir hier beobachten können, sind im Grunde diejenigen Verfahren, die vor den venezianischen Stadtgerichtshöfen eingehalten werden, und die auch zur Schlichtung von Streitigkeiten zwischen Kreuzfahrern und Venezianern festgelegt werden. Für den Kaufmann der Serenissima war dies von großem Vorteil, bewegte er sich doch innerhalb jener Grundsätze, die ihm von zu hause aus vertraut waren. Noch deutlicher wird die Herkunft der Rechtssätze aus Venedig, wenn man sich die Bestimmungen über die Beweiskraft von Urkunden vor Augen hält. Die rigiden Vorschriften darüber, welcher Notar ein Geschäft zu beurkunden hat, können für Oberitalien gelten, für das lateinische Kaiserreich werden sie dann modifiziert, doch ist ihre Herkunft noch deutlich erkennbar. Sie werden freilich aus dem Bereich des öffentlichen Notarswesens in Oberitalien in einen Herrschaftsbereich transponiert, der daneben auch die Siegelurkunde kennt, wie sie im Norden Europas vorherrschend war. Deshalb mangelt es der *Forma iustitiae* an jener Eindeutigkeit, die die Stadtverträge auszeichnet. Die Sprache ist weitschweifig und wenig eindeutig in den Rechtstermini.

'Studi e documenti di storia veneziana,' *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* n.s. 16 (1908), 48ff. Nr. 1. Minotto, *Acta* 3/1, S. 34ff.; 4/1, S. 44ff.

¹³ Rösch, *Venedig und das Reich*, S. 61ff.

¹⁴ Adolf Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (München, 1906), S. 666–668.

Pactum Ferrarie:

Quod si de questione facta fuerit instrumentum per manum tabellionis confectum et reus minus paratus ad causam forte accesserit, liceat ei quindecim dierum indutias postulare. Et si per testes monstraverit quod ex parte vel totum sit debitum quod continetur in instrumento solum, non valeat testimonium quod Ferrariensis induxerit, si Veneticus iuraverit contra. Si vero cartam securitatis factam per manum tabellionis de ipso instrumento monstraverit, tunc irritum teneatur instrumentum Ferrariensis.

Iterum instrumentum Venetici factum a Ferrariensi per notarium Ferrarie firmitatem optineat.

Forma iustitiae:

Item, si Venetus quesierit super Francigenam a decem yperperis valens, et infra, et habuerit testes Francigenas, debet esse pagatus, ni Francigena habuerit securitatem cartule secundum morem Venetorum, vel testes Venetos, quod eum pagavit.

Et si Francigena quesierit super Venetum a decem yperperis valens et infra, et habuerit testes Venetos, debet esse pagatus, ni Venetus habuerit securitatem de hoc a Francigena, sigillatam et de suo sigillo, vel si scripta a notario fuerit, vel erit constitutus tabellio a domino imperatore Constantinopolitano.

Et si Venetus habuerit super Francigenam cartulam roboratam suo sigillo vel scriptam a tabellione constituto a domino imperatore, de quanto continet, debet esse pagatus, ni habuerit securitatis cartulam a tabellione Veneto scriptam secundum morem Venetorum.

Man muß nicht bei der Feststellung stehenbleiben, daß es venezianische Anliegen sind, die hier vertraglich geregelt werden. Die wenig präzise Sprache der *Forma iustitiae* im Vergleich zu den Pacta mit den oberitalienischen Städten läßt zumindest den Schluß zu, daß die genauen Formulierungen, wie sie in der Dogenkanzlei jederzeit greifbar waren, in Konstantinopel nicht vorgelegen haben. Dies wiederum läßt Rückschlüsse auf das Archiv des Podestà in Konstantinopel zu, der eben nicht auf jene Vorurkunden zurückgreifen kann, die der Kanzlei im Dogenpalast zur Verfügung stehen. Marino Zen und seine Berater haben offenbar dem Geiste nach die venezianischen Vorschriften gegen den Kaiser und seine Berater durchgesetzt, eine Vorlage mit dem genauen Wortlaut besaßen sie aber nicht. Dies kann auch nicht verwundern, wenn wir in Betracht ziehen, was wir von den anderen Beamten im weiten Kreis des Mittelmeers wissen. Offenbar gab es Handschriften, die hohen Beamten zur Verfügung standen, damit sie ihr Amt gewissenhaft ausführen konnten. Davon hat sich freilich nur wenig erhalten.¹⁵ Wenn man sich aber vor Augen hält, wie wenig geordnet in den vierziger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts die Akten des venezianischen Bailo in Akkon waren, dann kann dieser Zustand für Konstantinopel wenige Zeit nach

¹⁵ Vor allem Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana Cod. Marc. Lat. cl. 5 Nr. 130 (3198) saec. XIII. Vgl. Gerhard Rösch, *Der venezianische Adel bis zur Schließung des Großen Rats. Zur Genese einer Führungsschicht* (Sigmaringen, 1989), S. 151 N. 143. Vgl. Anm. 16.

der Plünderung und Eroberung nicht verwundern.¹⁶ Und daß man bereits am Rialto geplant haben könnte, die oberitalienischen Stadtverträge zum Vorbild eines Abkommens mit dem lateinischen Kaiser in Konstantinopel zu machen, ist ebenfalls nicht anzunehmen.

Ja man kann bei aller Vorsicht noch weiter gehen. Wenn man annimmt, daß die Notare der venezianischen Kanzlei mit der Juristensprache ihrer Heimat vertraut waren, so kann man vermuten, daß die Formulierungen nicht aus der Feder eines Beamten des Marino Zen stammen. Zahlreiche Begriffe entsprechen weder der Sprache der venezianischen Pacta noch den frühesten Statuten Venedigs.¹⁷ Es wird also ein Kanzleinotar der kaiserlichen Beurkundungsstelle in Konstantinopel gewesen sein, der die Texte der Übereinkunft formuliert hat. Dies hatte auf die Formulierungen Einfluß, den Inhalt aber haben die venezianischen Interessen diktiert. Und dies entspricht im übrigen auch der politischen Lage in Konstantinopel, wo sich eine halbwegs geordnete venezianische Interessenvertretung von Anfang an gegen die Kreuzfahrer durchgesetzt hatte.

II

Der zweite große Problemkomplex betrifft die Frage des bedenklichen Erwerbs und des Verdachts der Hehlerei. Dies sind nun ohne Zweifel Rechtsfälle, die in den wirren Zeiten nach der Eroberung und Plünderung außerordentlich oft vorgekommen sein mögen. Letztlich war ja beinahe alles Kriegsbeute, deren ehrlicher Erwerb kaum bewiesen werden konnte. Verwundern muß allerdings das Verfahren, das man anzuwenden gedachte. Dabei waren etwa die Rechtssätze der *Promissio maleficorum* des Dogen Orio Mastropetro von 1181, das venezianische Strafrecht der Zeit also, in dieser Frage eindeutig: Wer Diebesgut erwarb, hatte dieses ohne jeden Schadensersatz zurückzugeben.¹⁸ Und dies entspricht allgemeinem abendländischem Rechtsempfinden.

Die Grundsätze der *Forma iustitiae* hingegen sind sehr viel weniger rigide. Zunächst werden die Normen so formuliert, daß der Venezianer als Besitzer unrechten Gutes angeklagt wird, am Ende wird dann jedoch festgestellt, daß dies auch reziprok zu gelten habe.¹⁹ Von einer generellen Rückgabe gestohlenen Guts kann aber keine Rede sein. Nur wenn der Venezianer keine schriftlichen Unterlagen und auch keine fränkischen Zeugen für seinen Erwerb hat, muß er das

¹⁶ Oliver Berggötz, *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi. Codex Querini-Stampalia IV 3 (1064)*, Kieler Werkstücke C 2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1991) (mit einer Edition).

¹⁷ Neben Heinrich Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig* I (Gotha, 1905), S. 494ff. vgl. vor allem Enrico Besta/R. Predelli, 'Gli statuti civili di Venezia anteriori al 1242,' *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* n.s. I (1901), 5–300.

¹⁸ *Item stabilimus, ut si aliquis tabernarius vel tabernaria aliquem causam receperit quae sit de furto, quod ipsam causam totam sine ullo pretio et sine omni occasione reddere debeant.* Kretschmayr, *Geschichte* I, S. 496.

¹⁹ TTh 2:51: *Et Francigena contra Venetum similiter facere debet in omnibus suprascriptis.*

Diebesgut ohne jeden Ersatz herausrücken.²⁰ Ansonsten galt, daß der Venezianer einen Monat Zeit haben sollte, Zeugen oder Unterlagen dafür beizubringen, daß er unwissentlich dieses Diebesgut gekauft habe. Wenn der Franke dann die Güter vom Venezianer zurückhaben wollte, mußte er ihm den Kaufpreis erstatten.²¹ Das bedeutete natürlich, daß sich der Kreuzfahrer jetzt an den Verkäufer halten konnte, während der Venezianer ohne Schaden aus dieser bedenklichen Angelegenheit herauskam.

Dies alles spricht bereits überkommenem Rechtsdenken Hohn, doch es kommt noch toller: Bei Gütern geringen Werts unter zwei Hyperpern — doch auch dies sind keineswegs nur Bagatellen des täglichen Lebens — sollte es erlaubt sein, sich überhaupt ohne weitere Beweise durch Eid zu reinigen. Gegen den Eid des Venezianers war dann kein Rechtsmittel möglich. Wer seine Güter wiederhaben wollte, mußte dafür bezahlen. Sucht man Parallelen zu diesen Grundsätzen, so wird man an einem Ort fündig, wo man es eigentlich nicht vermuten würde. Es sind jene Grundsätze, die in den Kaiserurkunden des Westens den Juden immer wieder bestätigt wurden und die eine antisemitische ältere Literatur immer wieder als 'Hehlerprivileg' der Juden bezeichnet hatte:

DFI. 166:²² Si autem res furtiva apud eos inventa fuerit, si dixerit Iudeus se emisse, iuramento probet secundum legem suam, quanti emerit, et tantundem recipiat et rem ei, cuius erat restituat.

Forma iustitiae: Et si fuerint a duabus yperperis vel minus res supradicte, et Francigena quesiverit super Venetum taliter, quod fuerint iniuste vel furtive ab eo ablate, monstrare debet ante iudices, quod vera sunt; tunc debet iurare Venetus, quod publice emit et non cognoscebat tunc, quod nec de furto, nec de robaria fuerit; et quantum precium dedit, tantum, si Francigena voluerit eas pagare, debet dare, quanto fuerit comparatum.

Venezianer und Kreuzfahrer haben sich in der Frage des bedenklichen Erwerbs und der Hehlerei auf Verfahren geeinigt, die von den üblichen Grundsätzen des damaligen Rechts deutlich abwichen. Hervorgerufen wurde dies vielleicht durch die Ausnahmesituation nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel, als in dem allgemeinen Durcheinander saubere Verfahren kaum möglich gewesen sind. Dabei hat man sich dann auf Rechtsnormen geeinigt, die man sonst aus den Judenprivilegien kennt.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 51: *Et si Venetus non habet scripta nec testes Francigenas de rebus superscriptis, quas emit, debet ipsas habere sine ulla dacione.*

²¹ Ibid.: *et ille Francigena, si voluerit res tanto precio, quanto Venetus emit eas ipsas, habere debet.*

²² MGH, *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* 10/1, ed. Heinrich Appelt (Hannover, 1975). Zum Hehlerprivileg: Friedrich Lotter, 'Talmudisches Recht in Juden-Privilegien Heinrich IV.? Zur Ausbildung und Entwicklung des Marktschutzrechts im frühen und hohen Mittelalter,' *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 72 (1990), S. 23–61.

III

Der dritte Komplex betrifft Diebstahl und Raub, wobei Verfahrensfragen und Strafnormen sich mischen. Auch hier ist das Verfahren gestaffelt nach dem Wert der weggenommenen Dinge: Je höher der Wert, desto größer sind die Anforderungen an die Beweise. Dies liegt auf der Linie der gesamten Abmachungen, erstaunlicher sind die Strafnormen: Für Diebstahl und für Raub gilt die *poena dupli*, die uns zwar in zahlreichen Rechten des Mittelalters seit dem römischen Recht begegnet, dennoch aber wenig den Ansprüchen der Zeitgenossen entsprach. Die Tendenz ging zu harten Leibesstrafen, zumindest hat man die Strafen jedoch verdoppelt. *Si aliquis...abstulerit alicui per vim...ad duplum debet pagari* — diese Vorschrift kann man nur mit Staunen betrachten. Denn Raub war eine Tat, die vor allem die Kaufleute schwer geahndet sehen wollten. Die *promissio maleficorum* des Dogen Orio Mastropetro von 1188 gibt uns ein eindrückliches Bild davon, wie man in Venedig derartige Delikte zu bestrafen pflegte.

Gleich mehrmals kommt der kurze Gesetzestext auf Raubdelikte zu sprechen. Dabei sind die Vorschriften über den Strandraub noch am ehesten vergleichbar. Wer dieses Delikt begeht, soll ebenfalls das Doppelte zurückgeben, verfällt jedoch darüber hinaus der Bannstrafe des Dogen. Kann er nicht bezahlen, wird sein Haus zerstört und er selbst in Haft genommen, bis der Geschädigte ausbezahlt und der Bann erlegt ist.²³ Rabiater waren dagegen die Bestimmungen bei gewöhnlichem Raub: Hier sollte dem Delinquenten die rechte Hand abgeschnitten werden. Wenn es bei der Tat zu Blutvergießen gekommen war, war der Überführte zu hängen.²⁴ Darüber hinaus gab es noch Vorschriften über einen irrtümlich an einem Freund Venedigs ausgeführten Seeraub, der erstaunlich milde bestraft wurde und die bedenkliche Praxis der Zeit zu beleuchten imstande ist.²⁵ Auf alle Fälle ist aber das Bemühen erkennbar, Gewalt und Raub mit schwersten Leibesstrafen zu unterbinden, die vergleichsweise Milde der Konventionalstrafe des römischen Rechts genügt venezianischen Anforderungen nicht.

Wenig gnädig ging Venedig auch gegen Diebe vor: Die Strafe hing ganz entscheidend von der Höhe des Schadens ab. Wer unter zwanzig *solidi* gestohlen hatte, der sollte ausgepeitscht und gebrandmarkt werden, im Wiederholungsfalle sollte er ein Auge verlieren. Die gleiche Strafe wie den zweimal straffällig Gewordenen sollte auch denjenigen ereilen, der einen Schaden zwischen zwanzig und hundert *solidi* verursacht hatte. Für alle höheren Summen war der Dieb zu hängen.²⁶

²³ Kretschmayr, *Geschichte* 1, S. 494f.: *tunc totum quod abstulerit in duplum emendare debeat*.

²⁴ Kretschmayr, *Geschichte* 1, S. 495; allerdings wird nicht klar, ob die hier angesprochene *raubaria* identisch ist mit jenen Delikten, die in der *Forma iustitiae* angesprochen sind.

²⁵ Kretschmayr, *Geschichte* 1, S. 496.

²⁶ Kretschmayr, *Geschichte* 1, S. 495.

Sicherlich entsprach der heimische Brauch am ehesten den Interessen der Venezianer, war doch der Kaufmann durch Diebstahl und Raub besonders bedroht, mochten freilich die christliche Seefahrt und die Piraterie auch nicht immer zu trennen sein.²⁷ Man kann mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit vermuten, daß es sich hier vor allem um die vermögensrechtlichen Folgen handelt, denn daß Raub schwere Strafen nach sich zog, ist zu vermuten. Vielleicht lag dies jedoch auch im Interesse der Barone im untergegangenen byzantinischen Reich, deren Machtstellung und Vermögen ja insgesamt auf dem Recht des mehr oder weniger gewaltsamen Eroberers beruhte.

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, daß die Urkunde ganz wesentlich venezianische Interessen formuliert hat, obwohl an der Abfassung wohl ein kaiserlicher Notar beteiligt war, der mit der venezianischen Rechtssprache wenig vertraut war. Die Verfahrensregeln des Zivilprozesses entsprechen dem venezianischen Recht, das so auch in die Romania eingeströmt ist. Erstaunlich milde hingegen sind die Sanktionen bei bedenklichem Erwerb oder Hehlerei: Hier ist das Interesse des gutgläubigen Käufers besonders geschützt. Auch dies mag in der Realität des lateinischen Kaiserreiches eher den venezianischen Kaufmann denn den fränkischen Baron geschützt haben. Etwas differenziert ist der dritte Teil der Bestimmungen zu sehen: Die milden Strafen für Diebstahl und Raub entsprachen vielleicht einfach den rauen Gegebenheiten der Romania, sie widersprechen aber der venezianischen Politik, der es immer um den Schutz von Handelsgütern gegangen war. Wie die Bestimmungen in der Praxis funktionierten, entzieht sich allerdings unserer Beobachtung. Vieles, was wir erfahren möchten, verliert sich im Dunkel der Geschichte, gerade auch im kurzlebigen lateinischen Kaiserreich von Konstantinopel.

²⁷ Marie-Luise Favreau, 'Die italienische Levante-Piraterie und die Sicherheit der Seewege nach Syrien im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert,' *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 65 (1978), 181–215; John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War. Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Cambridge, 1988), S. 153–159.

The Lyon *Eracles* and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre

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The manuscript 828 of the Bibliothèque de la Ville at Lyon contains the text of the Old French translation of William of Tyre's celebrated history with continuations taking the narrative on to 1248. It was copied in Acre around the year 1280.¹ Its importance for the historian lies in the fact that it contains a unique version of the French Continuation from the point at which William's own text breaks off to 1197. In a study published in 1973 the late Ruth Morgan argued forcibly that this version of the Continuation brings us as close as we can get to the original form of the text for the events of these years, and in 1982 she published a new edition of it.² The period in question is of course of considerable interest: the accession of Guy of Lusignan to the throne of the Latin Kingdom; Saladin's victory at the battle of Hattin; the loss of Jerusalem; Conrad of Montferrat's defence of Tyre; the siege of Acre; the crusading expeditions of Frederick Barbarossa, Richard the Lionheart and Philip Augustus; the death of Conrad and the rule of Henry of Champagne; the affairs of Cyprus, Armenia and Antioch; and finally the death of Henry of Champagne and the German Crusade of 1196–98. All historians who have investigated any of these topics will have had to contend with the problems presented by the different versions of the Continuation of William of Tyre — or *Eracles*, as the text in its entirety is often called after the reference in its opening sentence to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius — and the closely related text edited in the nineteenth century as *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*.³

The standard edition of the other versions of the French Continuation of William of Tyre remains that published in 1859 by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*.⁴ The vast majority of the manuscripts containing the Continuation — no less than 44 out of a total of 49 — preserve a version of the text that is closely paralleled by that given in the

¹ Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 36, 216, and chapter 2 *passim*.

² Margaret Ruth Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973); *Cont. WT*. Important work on related texts to have appeared since 1982: Margaret Ruth Morgan, 'The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre,' in *Outremer*, pp. 244–257; Margaret A. Jubb, *A Critical Edition of the Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* (London, 1990); John Pryor, 'The Eracles and William of Tyre: An Interim Report,' in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 270–293.

³ Ed. Louis de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1871.

⁴ *Eracles*, RHC Occ 2.

Chronique d'Ernoul. This is the text represented by manuscript *g* in the *Recueil* edition. MS *c* in the *Recueil* is similar to *g* though with peculiarities of its own, and Morgan designated the texts found in *g*, *c* and the *Chronique d'Ernoul* under a collective short-hand term as the *abrégé*. Of the other manuscripts employed by the nineteenth-century editors, MSS *a* and *b* (containing what is sometimes known as the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation) provide the principal text as printed in the *Recueil*, while MS *d* is the Lyon manuscript. Where the Lyon *Eracles* differs substantially from the Colbert-Fontainebleau text, the editors published it in small print at the bottom of the page. They themselves were dependent on their correspondents in Lyon for their knowledge of this manuscript, and, as a comparison of their text with Morgan's edition amply illustrates, the *Recueil* edition of the Lyon *Eracles* is seriously inadequate.⁵ The other manuscript that needs to be taken into account is in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana at Florence (MS Pluteus 61.10). It was not used by the *Recueil* editors for the 1184–97 section, but for the period from late 1190 through to 1197 it contains a text that is itself unique though similar to the Lyon text. Morgan published this section of it in her edition in parallel to the Lyon *Eracles*.⁶

The relationship between the various versions of the Continuation for the years 1184–97 is complex. Every version contains information that is not found in any of the others; all versions are broadly similar in tone and content. For most of this period the Lyon *Eracles* is closer to the Colbert-Fontainebleau version than to the *abrégé*, but from the 1197 onwards the relationship changes dramatically with the Lyon *Eracles* following the *abrégé* text. Morgan argued that the Lyon *Eracles* came closest to the original version of the text for the 1184–97 section, that the Colbert-Fontainebleau text was rather more distant from it and that the *abrégé* even further removed.⁷ There can be little doubt that all these versions of the Continuation were composed in the East, and an analysis to the provenance of the manuscripts supports such a view. Of the 49 extant manuscripts of the Old French William of Tyre with continuations, 42 were copied in the West and seven in the East. Of the 42 western manuscripts, 41 preserve the *g* text and just one the Colbert-Fontainebleau text. Of the seven eastern manuscripts, three preserve the *g* text, and the others are *b*, *c*, the Lyon *Eracles* (*d*) and the Florence *Eracles* (*Fl*).⁸

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The first question to be asked about the Lyon *Eracles* is when was it written. In the form that has come down to us, the text dates to some time in the 1240s. It

⁵ For the manuscripts and sigla, *Cont. WT*, pp. 7–8. Cf. Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. ix, 4–7. For the inadequacies of the *Recueil* edition of *d*, *ibid.*, p. 192. Cf. *Eracles*, pp. xv–xvi.

⁶ For the Laurenziana MS, Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 111–116, 192–196. The *Recueil* editors used this manuscript to supply the continuation for the years 1275–77. *Eracles*, pp. xxi, 473–481.

⁷ Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 82–97, with *stemma* at p. 96.

⁸ *Cont. WT*, pp. 12–13.

contains a specific reference to the crusade of the king of Navarre, Count Thibault IV of Champagne, which took place in 1239–40. On the other hand, Frederick II is still emperor and the heirs of al-'Adil Sayf al-Din (died 1218) are still ruling in Egypt, and these indicators would both suggest a *terminus ad quem* of 1250.⁹ But how much more of the text belongs to this late period? The Lyon *Eracles* contains other datable allusions that bring us firmly into the thirteenth century: Balian of Sidon and the treaty of Jaffa of 1229; the Cypriot nobleman Aimery Barlais prominent at around the same period; Patriarch Gerold's tower at Jaffa also built in 1229. There are also references to events in the first two decades of the century,¹⁰ while other allusions to more recent times are less specific but could well date to as late as the 1240s:

Et en celui tens nen i aveit bacinet ne espaulieres ne coifes pointes ne estrumelieres, ne heaumes a visieres ne porteient nului gaires, se il n'estoit roi ou conte or grant seignor. Ains estoient legierement armé. Car se le chevalier ou le serjant perdeit son cheval par aucune aventure, il se poeit aidier a pié, Deu merci. A cest tens d'ores s'arment si estreit et si pesantment que se le chevalier chiet de son cheval il ne se puet mais aidier.

Or again:

Il avint que en cel tens les Pisans estoient de plus grant poeir en Surie que les Geneveis nen estoient. Enssi que il nen i avoit parole en celui tens fors que de Pisanz, tout aussi come il est ores en cel tens que il n'i a parole fors des Geneveis.¹¹

All the references to thirteenth-century affairs mentioned so far are found only in the Lyon *Eracles* and, in some cases, in the parallel passage in the Florence *Eracles*. It is clear that the Colbert-Fontainebleau version of the Continuation (*a-b*) also reached its present form, if not as late as the 1240s, at least no earlier than the 1220s. Both *a-b* and the Lyon *Eracles* mention the Templar recovery of Baghras (1216), the Damietta campaign at the time of the Fifth Crusade (1218–21) which they link with the continuing litigation between the Teutonic Order and the Hospitallers ('Et encores est la querele entr'eaus'), and Blanche of Castile, the queen of France.¹² In addition *a-b* has what appears to be an allusion that is not in the Lyon *Eracles* to the claims of Henry of Champagne's daughters on their father's patrimony, an affair that rumbled on until the mid-1230s.¹³ The shared reference to the Damietta crusade, which incidentally is presented in such

⁹ *Cont. WT*, pp. 81, 177, 179.

¹⁰ *Cont. WT*, pp. 81–82, 191, 193. Other allusions include the disinheritance of the lords of Nephin (1206) (p. 74); Baldwin of Flanders as emperor of Constantinople (1204–05) (p. 139); Raymond-Rupen as prince of Antioch (1216–19) (p. 169); Hugh I (1205–18) as king of Cyprus (p. 177).

¹¹ *Cont. WT*, pp. 149, 159.

¹² *Eracles*, pp. 137, 142, 143; *Cont. WT*, pp. 96, 99–100. For the disputes between the two military Orders which lasted well into the middle of the thirteenth century, Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of Saint John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 397–398.

¹³ *Eracles*, pp. 195–196. See Jean Richard, *Saint Louis, Crusader King of France*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 42–46.

a way that it would seem to have occurred well before the time of writing, has to be regarded as an indication that the precursor of both versions was itself composed after the early 1220s.

By comparison, the *abrégé* texts of the French Continuation of William of Tyre on the whole lack references to later events. The one exception that I have noted concerns the marriage of Joan, Richard the Lionheart's sister, to Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. In 1190, when Richard found Joan in Sicily, he persuaded her to contribute the proceeds from the sale of her dower to his war chest in return for a promise that he would pay her back on his return to England and would marry her 'hautement et richement.' The *abrégé* then says:

Puis la maria au conte de Saint Gile, dont ele ot .i. filz, qui cuens fu de Saint Gile quant on fist pes de la terre d'Aubijois.¹⁴

Joan and Raymond's son, Raymond VII, became count in 1222 and the peace of Paris which brought the Albigensian crusade to an end was concluded in 1229. Although their account of the 1190 transaction is generally similar, neither the Colbert-Fontainebleau nor the Lyon *Eracles* contains this sentence. On the other hand the Florence *Eracles* does.¹⁵ This reference to events in the 1220s does, however, serve as a reminder that the accounts of the Third Crusade in the *abrégé* texts also reached their present form long after the events described had occurred.

So far the emphasis in this discussion has been on the comparative lateness of the texts under discussion. What seems to have happened is that material — perhaps substantial quantities of material — has at various times been introduced into earlier, and now lost, recensions of the narrative. So to what extent is it possible to identify the original common stock and assign a date to it? For the oldest identifiable material we need to look at those passages that are identical in all the versions. The Colbert-Fontainebleau texts, the Lyon *Eracles* and the *abrégé* have several sections in common, but, taking the period 1184–97 as a whole, not that many. Ignoring minor variants, the most substantial passage to be found in all the manuscripts comes almost at the beginning of the Continuation and is represented by §§4–28 in Morgan's edition of the Lyon *Eracles*. These paragraphs tell of the events from the regency arrangements made before the death of King Baldwin IV through to the reconciliation of King Guy and Raymond of Tripoli after the battle of Cresson and the beginnings of the preparations for the Hattin campaign.¹⁶ But even here we find what appears to be an allusion to the Fourth Crusade, an allusion that is also present in the *Chronique d'Ernoul*.¹⁷ In

¹⁴ *Eracles*, pp. 160–161 variants; *Ernoul*, p. 269. Cf. *Eracles*, p. 155; *Cont. WT*, p. 109.

¹⁵ *Cont. WT*, p. 108.

¹⁶ *Eracles*, pp. 6–47; *Cont. WT*, pp. 20–43. There are other common passages, most of them quite short, scattered through §§49–75, i.e. from the late summer of 1187, immediately before the surrender of Ascalon, to Saladin's northern campaign of 1188. But it is a feature of this section that the Lyon *Eracles* frequently includes material not found elsewhere. *Eracles*, pp. 77–122. The passages common to all versions can be identified from the critical apparatus. Cf. *Cont. WT*, pp. 61–87.

¹⁷ *Eracles*, p. 24; *Ernoul*, p. 96; *Cont. WT*, p. 30.

other words, all the extant versions of the Continuation stem from a recension which itself postdated 1204. But that is not to say that the original text was first composed after 1204. Indeed, in a famous passage, a group of four manuscripts of the *Chronique d'Ernoul* informs us apropos the battle of Cresson fought on 1 May 1187 that a squire of Balian of Ibelin named 'Ernous' or 'Ernoul' had first put this story into writing,¹⁸ and the implication would seem to be that Ernoul's account was written nearer to the events. But how much ground Ernoul's narrative covered is unknown and is not a question that can be addressed here.¹⁹

This post-1204 source — for the sake of convenience I shall refer to it as '*O*' — which lies behind all the extant versions contained a narrative that continued at least as far as 1197. In telling of Conrad's successful defence of Tyre in the closing weeks of 1187, all the texts report that just two of the Muslim galleys escaped and went to Beirut where they 'firent puis grant damage as Crestiens, si com vos orrez de ci en avant' or 'si com vos orés en aucun tens dire.'²⁰ This cross-reference, which must have been present in *O*, is not picked up until very much later, in the account of the recovery of Beirut in 1197.²¹ There are two important points to be made. First, *O* covered at the very minimum the period 1184–97 and perhaps substantially more. Secondly, *O* did not stop at the point where the Lyon *Eracles* loses its distinctive character but went on for at least several pages. Morgan attached considerable significance to the point at which the Lyon text ceases to be unique, seeing it as the end of 'la chronique primitive d'Ernoul',²² but if, as I have attempted to demonstrate, the text from which the Lyon *Eracles* and all the other extant versions were ultimately derived can be shown to have continued without a break at this point, then her arguments fall down. There is no doubting the change of recension in the Lyon text, but that in itself proves nothing about the structure of its precursors. There are other possible explanations for this change: perhaps the compiler of the Lyon *Eracles* stopped writing at this point; perhaps somewhere in the transmission a copyist switched exemplars.²³

To sum up the discussion so far: the Lyon *Eracles* and the Colbert-Fontainebleau texts were both partly derived from a source that cannot have been earlier than the 1220s, and indeed the Lyon *Eracles* would appear to belong to the 1240s; in turn, both that source and the *abrégé* drew on a common original (*O*) that extended to at least as far as the recovery of Beirut in 1197 and which itself

¹⁸ *Ernoul*, p. 149. Cf. Morgan, *Chronicle*, p. 41.

¹⁹ It has been plausibly suggested that Ernoul's account extended no further than 1187. John Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden on Crusade,' in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. David O. Morgan (London, 1982), pp. 72–73.

²⁰ *Eracles*, p. 109; *Ernoul*, p. 242; *Cont. WT*, p. 78.

²¹ *Eracles*, p. 226 and pp. 227–228 variants; *Ernoul*, pp. 315–316.

²² Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 114–116.

²³ Such a switch would have preceded the manuscript utilized by the compiler of the Florence *Eracles*.

took shape after 1204; behind *O* lurks at least one other non-extant narrative, the history written by Ernoul.

* * *

So what light do the other versions shed on the Lyon *Eracles*? To take the closest text, the Florence *Eracles* (*Fl*), first. What has undoubtedly happened at some earlier point in the transmission of this text is that a copyist changed from one exemplar to another. Up to the point where §107 of Morgan's edition of the Lyon text begins, the scribe had been following the *abrégé* recension; he then began using a text closely related to the Lyon *Eracles*. The parallel section begins with the kings of England and France wintering in Sicily. The manuscript comes from the Acre scriptorium and would appear to date from the eve of the city's fall to the Muslims in 1291.²⁴ A comparison of the two texts shows clearly that *Fl* tends to be more concise and that a compiler has reworked the material in a generally intelligent and successful manner. A few passages towards the end have been omitted altogether, and in a handful of places the order in which material appears has been changed. A detailed comparison shows that the compiler had at his disposal a copy of the Lyon *Eracles* that in a number of places contained better readings than the extant manuscript.²⁵ Certainly the Lyon manuscript was not the only copy of that version to have existed. In a few places *Fl* has information not found in the Lyon *Eracles*, and here it would seem that the compiler had drawn on material to be found in the *abrégé*. The remark about Count Raymond VII of Toulouse and the end of the Albigensian crusade is an example that has been referred to already. Another occurs in the account of the death of Henry of Champagne where *Fl*, in common with the *abrégé* and employing almost the same form of words, noted that Henry had several times ordered the railing on the window to be repaired and that he was buried in Acre in the church of the Holy Cross. The Lyon *Eracles* has none of this.²⁶ However, there has been no attempt to introduce original information: all the compiler of *Fl* has done is to take a few odd and ends from another version of the text.

The Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation (*a-b*) and the Lyon *Eracles* have considerable sections in common: to use the paragraph numbers from the Morgan edition, these are §1 — beginning of §40; quite a bit of §§49–75 although the texts here frequently separate for short passages; §82– mid way through §116; and §120 — beginning of §131. In the early paragraphs the Lyon *Eracles* frequently shares readings with the *abrégé* in opposition to *a-b*, but in its general structure it follows the latter where it and the *abrégé* diverge. The first major split between the Lyon *Eracles* and *a-b* begins early in the narrative of the battle of Hattin (§40)

²⁴ Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 111, 116.

²⁵ *Cont. WT*, pp. 9–12.

²⁶ *Cont. WT*, p. 192. Cf. p. 193; *Eracles*, p. 221 variants. Another example may be in the passage describing Richard's departure for the West in 1192. *Cont. WT*, p. 154 (first paragraph). Cf. p. 155; *Eracles*, p. 200.

and even after they rejoin (at §49 just after Conrad's arrival in Tyre), the Lyon *Eracles* frequently has information of its own, while *a-b* and the *abrégé* generally stay together. All this changes at the beginning of §82 (the story has now reached the point at which King Guy, having been refused entry at Tyre, embarks on the siege of Acre). At this point *a-b* and the *abrégé* part company and thereafter only occasionally and not until much later do they come together again.²⁷ On the other hand, from §82 through to §131, with one noteworthy exception (§§116–119), *a-b* and the Lyon *Eracles* stay close to each other, eventually going their separate ways as King Richard sets out on his march that will lead to the battle of Arsuf and his campaigns in southern Palestine. Thereafter they give different accounts until the point at which the Lyon *Eracles* loses its distinctive character. None of the places where *a-b* and the Lyon *Eracles* diverge or converge (§§40, 75, 82, 131) can be considered natural stopping points in the narrative. It is therefore not possible to argue that these changes in the relationship between the texts indicate points at which an earlier writer had begun or finished; rather they should be regarded as places where the compilers had started or ended their revisions.

It seems to me that the beginning of §82, where *a-b* and the *abrégé* part, is an important crux. For some time *a-b* and the Lyon *Eracles* have only been together spasmodically; now they embark on a lengthy section in which they remain close. What is more, there are two pieces of evidence that strongly suggest a disjuncture in *a-b* at this point. Shortly before, at §77, the Lyon *Eracles* had recorded Saladin's slaughter of the Templars; an elderly Muslim named Caracois upbraided the sultan:

... Et cuidiés vos avoir finée vostre guerre? Je vos fas assavoir que les Templiers naistront o toutes lor barbes. Encore vos di ge plus, que lor amis et lor parens ne lairont mie aler lor mort a nonchaleir, ains la vodront chierement vengier et comparer.

At §84, with the arrival of the Christian fleet bearing James of Avesnes, this prophecy is taken up in a further exchange between Saladin and Caracois. Caracois is supposed to have said:

... ce est le secors qui vient as Frans. Je vos di bien quant vos comandastes a ocire les Templiers que il naistroient encores o toutes lor barbes.²⁸

In return for these words of wisdom Saladin presented Caracois with the dubious privilege of commanding the Muslim garrison in Acre. Only the second conversation is in *a-b*, and so the reference back to the earlier exchange ('Je vos di bien quant...') is left dangling.

The second indicator is on an altogether different scale and concerns the crusade of Frederick Barbarossa. The *abrégé* and also *a-b* give a brief and totally inadequate account of his expedition and death, suggesting for example that the

²⁷ *Eracles*, p. 126. For later convergences of *a-b* and the *abrégé*, *ibid.*, pp. 143, 170, 194–196, 198–210, 212, 217–218.

²⁸ *Eracles*, p. 128; *Cont. WT*, pp. 88, 90.

Byzantine emperor gave full and willing assistance throughout. At the equivalent place (§74) the *Lyon Eracles* mentions that the German emperor was the first ruler to set off and announces that it will leave telling what happened until later (§§88–98). The *abrégé* has nothing more on Frederick's crusade. But *a-b*, having already given this unsatisfactory summary of events, then gives the much fuller and very different story of the emperor's crusade and death that is also to be found in the *Lyon Eracles*.²⁹

These two anachronisms in the *a-b* text, both of them straddling the point at which it parts company with the *abrégé*, would seem to show that there is here a break in the recension. Any attempt to analyse of the relationship between the various versions of the Continuation should treat what comes after *Lyon Eracles* §82 separately from what has come before. Thus to return the question of internal evidence for dating: before this point there is no allusion in the *a-b* text to anything later than the Fourth Crusade; it is only afterwards that we find the references to the Fifth Crusade and the other thirteenth-century matters that *a-b* shares with the *Lyon Eracles*.³⁰ Before this break *a-b* is close to the *abrégé*, though not entirely the same, while the *Lyon Eracles* contains a lot of distinctive material including the reference to Thibault of Champagne's crusade of 1239–40. After it the *abrégé* is appreciably briefer than the other texts which, as mentioned, now embark on a lengthy section in which they speak with one voice. If I am right and there is a disjuncture in *a-b* at the beginning of §82, it may be that there has been a change of exemplars further back in the transmission of the *a-b* text — a change from using an exemplar similar to the *abrégé* to one more akin to the *Lyon Eracles*.

By comparing the *Lyon Eracles* and *a-b* we can see something of how the *Lyon Eracles* compiler worked. In the pre-§82 section, he seems to have been utilizing a text that resembled the *a-b* version in its essentials and was interpolating new material from time to time. A good illustration that shows him doing this is provided by the very first paragraph in Morgan's edition. Morgan, following the example of the editors of the *Recueil*, starts with what is in fact the French translation of the last chapter of William of Tyre. The *Lyon* text is in tune with the other versions until near the end. Guy of Lusignan had raided a Bedouin encampment near Daron. The others all read: 'La novele en vint au roi, qui en fu tout desves,' — itself a slight expansion of William's Latin.³¹ The *Lyon Eracles*, however, substitutes the following:

En la retornee que li rois fist d'Acre en Jerusalem il vint la novele coment le conte Guy de Japhe avoit coru en la terre dou Daron sur les Bedoyns qui estoient en sa fiance, dont il en fu tout desvés et apres resut la maladie dont il morut.³²

²⁹ *Eracles*, pp. 116–118, 131–142; *Cont. WT*, pp. 84, 93–100.

³⁰ Above p. 141 and n. 12.

³¹ *Eracles*, p. 3. Cf. *WT* 23.1, p. 1064.

³² *Cont. WT*, p. 18.

The wording of the Latin text is sufficient to rule out any possibility that this version preserves an original, complete form of words and the others contain merely a *précis*. What has happened is that the Lyon compiler has used his imagination and indulged in a piece of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* reconstruction of the past. (The king heard the news; the king died; therefore the news precipitated his death). The text had just told him that King Baldwin IV had been in Acre; he also knew that he died soon after in Jerusalem (below at §5). Guy's behaviour hastened the king's demise.

Beside such small insertions which contribute little or nothing to our information, there are longer passages in the pre-§82 section where the Lyon *Eracles* provides a different text to that given by *a-b* and the *abrégé*. Sometimes the Lyon *Eracles* introduces information which appears to add to our knowledge of events. For example, it alone records the celebrated couplet said to have been sung by Guy of Lusignan's Poitevin followers to taunt the *poulains*:

Maugré li Polein

Avrons nous roi poitevin.³³

Again, the Lyon *Eracles* alone has the detailed account of Joscelin of Edessa's failure to defend Acre directly after Hattin and its surrender by the burgess, Peter Brice. According to all the other versions, Joscelin had been among the captives at Hattin.³⁴ The fact that they should contradict the Lyon *Eracles* on this point is further evidence that it is the Lyon *Eracles* that has fresh material rather than that the other texts are dependent on it but have chosen to omit this particular episode. Another example of the Lyon *Eracles* containing additional information comes in the account of Conrad's exchange with his father when Saladin tried to bargain the surrender of Tyre in return for his liberty. At the end of this section the Lyon text adds:

Et l'on l'amena devant la cité. Le marquis cria et dist: 'Conrat, biau fis, gardés bien la cité!' Et il mist main a une arbaleste et traist a son pere. Quant Salahadin oï que cil avoit trait a son pere si dist: 'Cist est mescreans, et est mout cruel.'

Up to a point the compiler has been inventive since he is unlikely to have known Saladin's actual words.³⁵ But what is significant here is that in the sentence that immediately precedes this quotation the other texts (in common with the Lyon *Eracles*) all say that Conrad threatened to shoot at his father. Only the Lyon text says that he actually did so, a claim corroborated by an independent source, the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*.³⁶ Had the other narratives been abridging the text as

³³ *Cont. WT*, p. 53.

³⁴ *Cont. WT*, pp. 56–57. See *Eracles*, p. 66 and p. 68 variant.

³⁵ *Cont. WT*, p. 62. Cf. *Eracles*, p. 78. For another example of presumably invented direct speech, *Cont. WT*, p. 67 (last 5 lines of §53). Cf. *Eracles*, p. 87.

³⁶ Hans E. Mayer (ed.), *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, Schriften der MGH 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 266–267. I thank Dr Helen Nicholson for drawing my attention to this reference.

found in the Lyon *Eracles* they would surely have recorded that Conrad shot at his father and not stopped where they do.

Two features of the additions in the Lyon *Eracles* are worthy of note. The compiler seems to have been interested in Islam, being the only person to mention hadjis (*hages*) and fakirs (*faquirs*) and inform the reader that, '... les Sarazins dient que porc ne home qui manjue porc ne doit entrer en celui Temple que Salahadin dedia a Dieu.' Much later he refers to the sultan's ceremonial saddle cloth, the *hashiya*.³⁷ Secondly, the compiler displays an ecclesiastical interest which could indicate that he was a cleric. Ruth Morgan noted a clumsily interpolated lament for the loss of Jerusalem which looks like the work of an ecclesiastic; there is also an interest in papal history not found elsewhere, and, when speaking of Saladin's cleansing of the Dome of the Rock, we are told, '... firent il laver le Temple en la maniere que les prelatz reconcilient les yglises qui ont esté violees.'³⁸ On the other hand, the Lyon *Eracles* omits the story found in both *a-b* and the *abrégé* of Balian of Ibelin and the patriarch stripping the silver from the edicule of the Holy Sepulchre to pay such troops as they had to defend Jerusalem against Saladin. Maybe the compiler was too appalled by this act of desecration to want to repeat it.³⁹ This strand of ecclesiastical interest also turns up later, in particular in the account of the conquest of Cyprus where the fact that the island was thereby brought into the sphere of Latin Christendom is emphasized and in the account of the election of the Patriarch Monachus of Jerusalem in the time of Henry of Champagne where the compiler introduces a discussion of a decretal of Pope Celestine III and a summary of twelfth-century relations between the papacy and the empire. The *a-b* version of the Continuation and the *abrégé* have none of this.⁴⁰

Taking the section before §82 as a whole, it has to be said that where the Lyon *Eracles* differs from *a-b* and the *abrégé*, it often does not make convincing reading. For example, according to all the versions Saladin moved north after Hattin, taking control of Sidon, Beirut and Jubail. The Lyon *Eracles*, however, then has him continue northwards to Antioch where he occupied a number of castles including Sahyun and Baghras and laid siege to La Roche Guillaume; he was particularly anxious to take this fortress because in it was a knight named John Gale who had kidnapped his nephew and sold him to the Templars; he was then distracted from the siege by the prospect of the surrender of Tyre only to find his hopes dashed by the arrival there of Conrad of Montferrat in the meantime. This narrative simply will not do. Quite apart from the doubts surrounding of the historicity of the John Gale episode, there can be no possibility that in the late summer of 1187 Saladin went any further north than Jubail. His campaign in the principality of Antioch belongs in 1188, and indeed it is in the context

³⁷ *Cont. WT*, pp. 66, 72, 75, 173.

³⁸ *Cont. WT*, pp. 54-55, 73, 75, 83, 84, 88; Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 108, 110-111.

³⁹ *Eracles*, pp. 70-71, pp. 68, 71 variants.

⁴⁰ *Cont. WT*, pp. 119, 121, 161, 163. Cf. Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 109-110.

of the campaign of that year that *a-b* and the *abrégé* introduce the John Gale story. In other words, in this instance their chronology is more credible.⁴¹ To a lesser extent the same can be said for the surrender of the two great castles of Oultrejourdain, Kerak and Montreal. According to the *Lyon Eracles*, Saladin was besieging Tortosa — this siege lasted for about a fortnight in July 1188 — when he was reminded that he had to release King Guy; he thereupon took Humphrey of Toron to Kerak and Montreal and had him induce the garrisons to surrender in return for his own freedom; he then went back to resume the siege at Tortosa. The chronology is clearly impossible, and the idea that Humphrey bargained his freedom for the surrender of these castles is unwarranted: in fact they were starved into surrender in November 1188 and April or May 1189 respectively. The other versions omit the role played by Humphrey and made no connection with the siege of Tortosa. Instead they claim that Kerak fell two years after the loss of the kingdom in 1187.⁴² A third instance of the *Lyon Eracles*'s chronology being poor is provided by its account of the fall of Beaufort. This fortress surrendered to Saladin in 1190 after a siege lasting a year, but the *Lyon Eracles* has this episode follow immediately after Conrad of Montferrat's successful defence of Tyre at the end of 1187. On the other hand *a-b* includes its account with the events of 1192! All versions of the siege of Beaufort have much material in common, but it is here that the *Lyon Eracles* works in its allusion to the crusade of Count Thibault of Champagne in 1239–40.⁴³

One final example of material unique to the *Lyon Eracles* that lacks persuasiveness is provided by an incident that supposedly occurred during the siege of Jerusalem. Saladin is said to have agreed to take the sons of Baldwin of Ibelin and Raymond of Jubail to safety; the two children were handed over to him and were well looked after; Saladin sat them on his knees and then began to weep; when asked why he was weeping he replied that, whereas now he was depriving these children of their inheritance, after his death his brother would deprive his children of theirs; this duly came to pass. It is a touching story and is of interest for the light it sheds on Saladin's later reputation and on contemporary attitudes to children, but, as a vehicle for Saladin's prophecy, there can be little doubt as to its essentially fictive nature.⁴⁴

What then is to be made of the relationship between the *Lyon Eracles* on the one hand and the Colbert-Fontainebleau texts and the *abrégé* on the other in that

⁴¹ *Eracles*, pp. 71 (and n. 30), 122–123; *Cont. WT*, pp. 57–59. The *a-b* text and the *abrégé* then spoil things by asserting that Saladin was still at the siege of La Roche Guillaume when he heard that Guy of Lusignan had begun to besiege Acre. *Eracles*, pp. 125–126. For John Gale, see Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester, 1993), pp. 83–84. By introducing the John Gale story where he does, the compiler of the *Lyon Eracles* has managed to squeeze out the account of the death of Raymond of Tripoli. Cf. *Eracles*, pp. 71–72.

⁴² *Eracles*, pp. 81–82, cf. p. 188; *Cont. WT*, pp. 86–87.

⁴³ *Eracles*, pp. 187–188; *Cont. WT*, pp. 79–82.

⁴⁴ *Cont. WT*, p. 65.

part of the Continuation before §82 of Morgan's edition? Some of the material in the Lyon *Eracles* that is found nowhere else is of ecclesiastical interest and could have been adapted from Latin sources. Otherwise we have anecdotes that are either inspired by material to be found elsewhere in the text or that are often self-evidently questionable and could be the product of later invention or distant reminiscence. Where the sequence of events differs, the Lyon *Eracles* offers a chronology that is less plausible. It is difficult to sustain the idea that the Lyon *Eracles* contains information that could be thought superior to that of the other versions, and it is not at all beyond the bounds of possibility that whenever the Lyon *Eracles* goes its own way we are being confronted with passages that were composed and inserted as late as the 1240s, the date at which the text reached its present form.

The relationship between the Lyon *Eracles* and the *a-b* version after §82 can be dealt with more briefly. The Lyon *Eracles* has no passages in common with the *abrégé* until 1197 and the point at which Morgan's edition ends. But, as mentioned earlier, from §82 until §131 it is very close to the *a-b* text with the exception of §§116–119. These paragraphs describe Richard's conquest of Cyprus in 1191, and the accounts diverge just as the crusaders are making their initial landing at Limassol. It has to be said that the *a-b* version is altogether more convincing.⁴⁵ The Lyon *Eracles* offers a stylized account of the campaigning and emphasizes the point that the conquest had the effect of bringing Cyprus into the realm of Latin Christendom, while the *a-b* text seems more in keeping with the secular tenor of the narrative and has a more persuasive account of the events, with several circumstantial details that add an air of plausibility. The *a-b* text is appreciably longer and, though differing in important respects, is also generally closer to the more nearly contemporary English accounts. Whether the compiler of the Lyon *Eracles* substituted his version for the *a-b* account of this episode is not entirely clear, but that conclusion would seem more likely than that the *a-b* compiler had jettisoned the Lyon text in favour of the version that we find in the Colbert-Fontainebleau manuscripts.

From §131 and the start of Richard's campaign to southern Palestine in 1191 the Lyon *Eracles* and *a-b* diverge until they come to the events of 1197.⁴⁶ But the way in which the material is arranged suggests that the two accounts are not totally unrelated, and indeed some episodes are very similar: for example, the duke of Burgundy's decision to withdraw from Richard's campaign, the discussion of Richard's culpability for the Conrad's murder, and Richard's capture in Germany.⁴⁷ Significantly, it is those passages that bear the greatest resemblance to each other that are also paralleled in the *abrégé*.⁴⁸ Both texts contain much information not to be found in the other. The Lyon *Eracles* is about twice as long,

⁴⁵ *Eracles*, pp. 163–169; *Cont. WT*, pp. 119, 121.

⁴⁶ *Eracles*, pp. 182–221; *Cont. WT*, pp. 133–199.

⁴⁷ *Eracles*, pp. 185–186, 194, 201–203; *Cont. WT*, pp. 133, 135, 141, 143, 155.

⁴⁸ See *Eracles*, pp. 178–180 variants, pp. 194, 201–203; *Ernouf*, pp. 278–280, 290, 296–298.

and among the topics it deals with more fully are Richard's use of Muslim troops and spies and his capture of the Muslim caravan, Henry of Champagne's relations with the Pisans and Aimery of Lusignan, the circumstances of the election of Patriarch Monachus, affairs in the Muslim world after the death of Saladin, and the Germans' siege of Toron at the end of 1197.⁴⁹ On the other hand, *a-b* has details on the death of James of Avesnes, names the official in Tyre whose arrest of the Assassin ship led to the murder of Conrad, and gives information on the war of succession in Sicily which led to Henry VI's acquisition of power there.⁵⁰ Each text consists of a series of anecdotes rather than an annal, and the Lyon *Eracles* in particular seems to be unconcerned about arranging the material into a strict chronological sequence.

Although in this section covering the period 1191–97 the Lyon *Eracles* is longer and more informative, it is difficult to describe either text as being 'better' than the other in any qualitative sense. It is difficult to detect any clear signs that might reflect the views of the authors and the context in which they wrote, although, by comparison with *a-b*, the Lyon *Eracles* does seem to be hostile to the regime in Cyprus. We have seen already that it gives a less detailed and less convincing account of Richard's conquest of the island. It is the Lyon *Eracles* alone that has Guy consulting Saladin as to what policy to adopt in the island, and, though both texts show him recruiting settlers, it is the Lyon *Eracles* that alleges that the knights of Cyprus were descended from 'shoemakers, masons and Arabic scribes.' Again, it is the Lyon *Eracles* that claims that Richard thought better of letting Guy have Cyprus and intended transferring it to Henry of Champagne and that Guy had to resort to devious stratagems to avoid being forced to relinquish the island. This text is the only one to tell of the humiliating episode in which Aimery's wife and children were carried off by a pirate. It also emphasizes that after Guy's death his brother Aimery only came to rule in Cyprus because Geoffrey, his other brother, did not want the island.⁵¹ The *a-b* text casts none of these aspersions; on the other hand, it contains an account of Renier of Jubail's mission to Emperor Henry VI to obtain a crown for Aimery and of Aimery's subsequent coronation at the hands of the imperial chancellor.⁵² But although a bias against the regime of Guy and Aimery of Lusignan in Cyprus can be detected, it is not so easy to provide a convincing explanation of why that should be.

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⁴⁹ *Cont. WT*, pp. 147, 149, 151, 159, 161, 163, 173, 175, 177, 195, 197.

⁵⁰ *Eracles*, pp. 184–185, 192, 205–207. Bernard of the Temple, the man named here as Conrad's *bailli* in Tyre, appears as viscount of Tyre in documents of 1187, 1188 and 1191. RRH nos. 665, 667, 674–675, 705. Cf. nos. 640, 707, 710 (where he is named as viscount of Acre), 713, 717.

⁵¹ *Cont. WT*, pp. 139, 143, 151, 153, 161, 163, 165, 173. Cf. *Eracles*, pp. 191–192 (settlement of Cyprus and Geoffrey of Lusignan).

⁵² *Eracles*, pp. 209, 212. For the suggestion that *a-b* gives a more accurate account of the terms under which Guy acquired Cyprus, see Peter W. Edbury, 'The Templars in Cyprus,' in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 189–190.

It will be apparent by now that I cannot accept Ruth Morgan's thesis that the Lyon *Eracles* represents the closest we can get to the original version or versions of the Continuations for the period 1184–97. It is not just that the internal evidence shows that the text is late — almost certainly later than either *a-b* or the *abrégé* — but that when the contrasting passages are examined, the Lyon *Eracles* does not prove itself to be superior. It is much the longest version, but this in itself means nothing. Morgan seemed to have assumed that to a greater or lesser extent the various versions are epitomes of an original. The very use of the term *abrégé* implies this concept, and in her discussion of the differing accounts of the death of Henry of Champagne she gave voice to this assumption.⁵³ My own analysis makes the opposite point: the material that is unique to the Lyon *Eracles* is to be explained as insertions by its compiler rather than as omissions on the part of all the other versions. I see no reason why all this material should not have been added in the 1240s.

Until we reach §131 the text into which the compiler was making his insertions would seem to have been similar but not identical to *a-b*. Before §82 the relationship between the Lyon *Eracles*, *a-b* and the *abrégé* is complicated, with the Lyon text frequently having readings in common with the *abrégé* while *a-b* stands apart. Morgan made the point that the manuscripts of *a-b* are 'not good manuscripts of the text they give,' and maybe that goes some way towards explaining why the readings they give differs.⁵⁴ But the anomalies in *a-b* immediately before and after §82 suggest that the relationship cannot be understood so simply. After §131 it is clear that the compiler of the Lyon *Eracles* was no longer using a text resembling *a-b*, and the fact that where his account is similar to *a-b* it is also often similar to the *abrégé* suggests that maybe what he was now doing was re-writing and greatly expanding a text akin to the *abrégé*. With these thoughts in mind, I return to the question of the nature of the text that lies behind all the extant versions and which I earlier dubbed *O*. It seems to me that until §82 of Morgan's edition *O* would have been very similar to the *abrégé* and *a-b* texts. After §82 it resembled the *abrégé* while *a-b*, like the Lyon *Eracles*, comprises an expanded version of it. But between *O* and both *a-b* and the Lyon *Eracles* there was evidently at least one intermediate stage which among other things included a reference to the Fifth Crusade and probably included the common material stretching from §82 to §131. But no text ever consisted solely of an account of the events of 1184–97. The *Chronique d'Ernoul* extended back to the early days of the Latin Kingdom, and the Continuations were stuck on to the end of the translation of William of Tyre. This is no place to embark on an enquiry into how these works relate, but I should like to suggest some basic ideas. The original version, from which all the texts for 1184–97 are ultimately derived was basically similar to the *Chronique d'Ernoul*. With the appearance of

⁵³ Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 86–88. 'We can easily suppose that the three versions chose three different details...from a much longer and more elaborate source offering all three' (p. 87).

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the French translation of William, the *Chronique* was trimmed and adapted and pasted on to the end. This resultant compilation was to all intents and purposes the *abrégé* version of the Continuation and served as the basis for the text which in turn was the base for both *a-b* and the Lyon *Eracles*. Investigations into the translation have concluded with commendable caution that it was undertaken between 1204 and 1234.⁵⁵ Within these broad margins belong also the various versions of the *Chronique d'Ernoult* and, I would suggest, the earliest version of the Continuation.

Fortune's Wheel turns: the anonymous *Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier* and the inappropriately named *abrégé* texts of the Continuation are raised aloft as the texts that take us nearest to the events themselves; the Lyon *Eracles* plunges into the abyss. Well not quite, for where the Lyon text has unique material it deserves consideration despite its uneven quality. Nevertheless, I would hope that henceforth no one will make the mistake of assuming — as in the past I myself have done — that where the versions differ the Lyon *Eracles* should automatically be preferred.

⁵⁵ Pryor, 'The Eracles and William of Tyre,' p. 289.

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⁵⁵ Pryor, 'The Eracles and William of Tyre,' p. 289.

The Venetian Privileges in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Interpretations and Implementation

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Venice obtained extensive privileges in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the first quarter of the twelfth century in return for naval assistance to military operations. In June 1100 Godfrey of Bouillon bestowed upon it various grants, yet only ten years later did it gain hold of a section of Acre. Several years of negotiations, from 1119 to 1123, ensured Venice of much larger concessions, recorded in the charter issued in 1123 by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Gormond of Picquigny, in the name of Baldwin II who was then in Muslim captivity. A few months later Venice decisively contributed to the crusader conquest of Tyre. After his release by the Muslims the king issued in early May 1125 another charter, based on the previous one. Modern historians generally believe that the two documents do not differ markedly, except with respect to Venetian military obligations. As a result they have focused their attention on the first charter, commonly known as *Pactum Warmundi*, considered the foundation of Venice's property and privileges in the kingdom until its fall in 1291. Moreover, they have basically relied on this charter to assess both the policy of the kings of Jerusalem toward Venice and the latter's reaction to what it considered encroachments upon its rights and interests by the crown's officials. The long and detailed memorandum compiled between 1242 and 1244 by the Venetian *bailo* in Acre, Marsilio Zorzi, is particularly eloquent in this respect.

These issues are reconsidered here in the light of a new reading of Venice's privileges in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The twelfth and thirteenth-century interpretations and implementation of these privileges are examined in their respective contemporary context, in relation both with developments in the crusader states of the Levant and Venice's Eastern Mediterranean expansion. Such an approach is of particular importance in the first stage of our investigation, devoted to a close scrutiny of the charters issued in 1123 and 1125, respectively. While reflecting similar conditions prevailing at the time of their drafting, these two charters differ substantially one from another. Moreover, like other legal documents, under changing circumstances their clauses were subjected in the following period to an ongoing and dynamic re-evaluation and were open to new and at times conflicting interpretations by the parties concerned. Consequently, it is essential to refrain from explaining the charters of 1123 and 1125 in the light

of later developments, nor should their implementation and long-term impact on the Kingdom of Jerusalem be solely measured by their original formulation.¹

A Venetian hagiographic work is the only source offering some evidence about the terms of the agreement concluded between Godfrey of Bouillon and Venice in the spring of 1100. In return for naval assistance during a limited period, from 24 June to 15 August, Venice was to receive a church and a marketplace in each coastal and inland city held by the crusaders or still to be captured. In all cities conquered jointly Venice was entitled to one third of the booty and in Tripoli, to half of it. In addition, the Venetians were to enjoy full and indefinite immunity from commercial taxes and freedom from the customary shipwreck rights exercised by Frankish lords.² It should be noted that Godfrey's concessions included neither urban quarters nor jurisdiction and were thus far less important than generally assumed. Venice's emphasis was clearly on adequate conditions for the conduct of maritime trade with Levantine cities, as well as on cash and goods. Settlement was apparently not yet contemplated. In short, there appears to be no reason to doubt the reliability of the information provided by the Venetian source, despite its nature and the fact that it was compiled after 1116.³ It appears, however, that the agreement of 1100 was not implemented. After the conquest of Haifa, Venice supposedly ceded to the crusaders its share of the booty collected in Haifa, conquered shortly afterwards.⁴ Neither in this city nor in Acre, captured in 1104, did it receive the property it had been promised. It may have refrained from requesting a church and a marketplace in Haifa, because the city lacked any potential for commercial expansion. Significantly, Venice never referred to it in later negotiations with the kings of Jerusalem. However, a similar explanation for the absence of Venetian property in Acre in the first years following its conquest is excluded, in view of the city's new role in maritime traffic.

Venice's contribution to the conquest of Sidon in 1110 was considered important enough to bring about an agreement with King Baldwin I, the terms of which are unknown. In any event, this agreement was not merely a confirmation of the one signed in 1100, since it was followed by the transfer of a small section of Acre into Venetian hands. It is noteworthy that a later charter issued in 1123 records this first territorial acquisition of Venice in the kingdom, without

¹ My reading of the evidence widely differs here from that found in previous studies, including some of my own. In order to shorten the notes, references to these studies appear below only when absolutely necessary.

² Monachus Littorensis, *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai (...) eiusdem avunculi* (...), cap. 33, RHC Occ 5/1:272.

³ Background in Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)* (Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 68–79, who, however, erroneously claims that the Venetians obtained one-third of the cities (p. 71), whereas this division concerns the booty alone.

⁴ Monachus Littorensis, *Historia*, cap. 43, RHC Occ 5/1:278.

referring to the agreement of 1100.⁵ By 1110 Acre had already replaced Jaffa as the main destination of western crusaders, pilgrims and supplies and as the maritime gateway to the holy places.⁶ The nature of Venice's authority over its quarter in Acre is unknown. Yet a charter of 1123 suggests that it included the right to appoint officials, impose taxes on Venetians living within the limits of the quarter, and apply Venetian law in commercial cases involving Venetians among themselves, provided they voluntarily submitted to the Venetian court.⁷ These developments imply that Venice was envisaging Venetian settlement in Acre, a projection presumably based on contemporary experience in Byzantium. Indeed, in addition to merchants, some Venetian women were already established in Constantinople by 1110.⁸

The promise of naval support for the conquest of either Tyre or Ascalon, the last Muslim strongholds along the Levantine coast, yielded far more extensive privileges.⁹ The *Pactum Warmundi* of 1123 lists various territorial, legal and fiscal concessions to Venice, while others are implied by the wording of its text. The first clause stipulates that Venice would receive in each royal and baronial city a whole quarter (*ruga*), the size of which is not specified, with a church, a marketplace (*plathea*), a bathhouse and an oven. Not content with this general disposition, Venice requested the right to establish these facilities and a mill in its quarter of Acre (§3), where they apparently did not exist. The Venetian quarters would be held free of charge as hereditary and perpetual property, like the king's own possessions, 'iure hereditario imperpetuum possidenda, ab omni exactione libera, sicut sunt regia propria' (§1).¹⁰ Venice obtained a similar definition with respect to one third of the cities and rural land of the lordships of Tyre and Ascalon, if it participated in their capture. Its portion there would be held 'libere

⁵ Background in Favreau-Lilie, *Italiener*, pp. 130–133.

⁶ David Jacoby, 'Pèlerinage médiéval et sanctuaires de Terre Sainte: la perspective vénitienne,' *Ateneo veneto* 173 [n. s. 24] (1986), 27–29 = idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), no. 4.

⁷ For details see below, p. 158.

⁸ David Jacoby, 'La dimensione demografica e sociale,' in Giorgio Cracco, Gherardo Ortalli (eds.), *Storia di Venezia* (Rome, 1995), 2:691.

⁹ The charters of 1123 and 1125, discussed below, have been edited in TTh 1:84–89, 90–94, respectively; Marco Pozza, 'Venezia e il Regno di Gerusalemme dagli Svevi agli Angioini,' in Gabriella Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds.), *I Comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, Collana storica di fonti e studi 48 (Genoa, 1986), pp. 373–379, 379–385; and Oliver Berggözt, *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi. Codex Querini-Stampalia IV3 (1064)*, Kieler Werkstücke, Reihe C: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters 2 (Frankfurt a/M, 1990) [hereafter cited as *Zorzi*], pp. 108–112, 112–116. I use the latter's edition and its numbering of the clauses of the two charters, with references to the more easily available, yet at times faulty texts in TTh. Page numbers in these editions are cited only when indispensable. For the circumstances, Favreau-Lilie, *Italiener*, pp. 138–149.

¹⁰ For the meaning of *ruga*, see David Jacoby, 'Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography,' *Studi medievali*, 3a ser. 20 (1979), 14–15 = idem, *Studies*, no. 5. 'Plathea sive balneum,' a somewhat ambiguous formulation, was apparently used in a cumulative sense, as in the charter of 1125 where *sive* is replaced by *que*: *Zorzi*, pp. 109 and 113 = TTh 1:85 and 91.

et regaliter,' like the two thirds remaining in royal hands (§15). In other words, the property allotted to Venice would be neither a fief nor a burgage tenure, but a collective allodium in which Venice would exercise the same rights as the king in his own domain. Compared with the grant of 1110, Venice was promised substantial territorial gains and a consolidation of its legal rights over the property it acquired.

Indeed, the legal formulations of the *Pactum Warmundi* had wide-ranging implications, which in turn generated important developments in the following period.¹¹ It has been suggested above that Venice was entitled since 1110 to appoint its own officials and courts and that these could exercise a limited authority over Venetians in fiscal and judicial matters. This authority was considerably expanded in 1123, both territorially, to all of Venice's urban and rural property, and in substance. The Commune was now empowered to exercise full rights in jurisdiction and taxation over the Venetians, and it was mandatory to submit cases between them to Venice's courts. While not explicitly stated, these dispositions are indirectly confirmed by two clauses extending Venice's judicial competence beyond the limits just mentioned. One of them stipulates that Venetian courts were also entitled to judge commercial cases ('*placitum vel negotii litigationem*') brought by foreigners against Venetians; however, crown officials retained their authority in similar suits involving Venetians as plaintiffs (§11).¹² To this extension *ratione materiae* was added yet another one, *ratione soli*. Venetian officials would also exercise rights of jurisdiction and taxation over foreign burgesses residing in Venetian quarters and houses, 'in vico et domibus Veneticorum habitantes,' regardless of their origin, like the king over the burgesses living on territory subject to his own authority (§14). The specific reference to houses implies that these were located outside the quarters. However, the extension of Venice's judicial authority, based on the Venetian ownership of these houses, was limited to their temporary or permanent residents, while the king retained full rights over the territory on which they were built.¹³ There was yet another important restriction. Since these residents were *burgenses*, the Venetian courts were entitled to judge citizens of other maritime powers and subjects of the king and feudal lords, provided they were not knights.¹⁴ In 1123 the whole issue had immediate practical implications in Acre, since the *Pactum Warmundi* granted Venice a section of the city inhabited by foreigners. It would also be of major importance in the portion of the lordship of Tyre that Venice received after the city's conquest the following year.¹⁵

¹¹ Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 218–226, has underlined their importance, yet his backward projection of later evidence blurs the subsequent evolution.

¹² The wording clearly points to commercial matters only.

¹³ For a somewhat similar issue, see below, n. 41.

¹⁴ Similar restrictions *ratione personae* appeared later with respect to Pisan jurisdiction: Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 241–246.

¹⁵ See below.

The *Pactum Warmundi* fails to define the precise nature of Venice's jurisdiction over the residents of Venetian quarters and houses. It is generally believed that criminal justice entailing corporal or capital punishment was included, an assumption based on later Venetian complaints about the infringement of the Commune's privileges in the kingdom.¹⁶ This is hardly plausible. The barons and knights of the kingdom hailed from areas in the West in which High Justice was viewed as one of the foremost expressions of seignorial and especially royal authority, never granted to urban communes or rural settlements. Considering the political conditions, as well as the prevailing conceptions about jurisdiction and the mentality shared by the high feudal lords of the kingdom in the 1120s, it was inconceivable that the king should waive his prerogative in criminal cases. Later sources clearly illustrate this attitude as a permanent feature of royal policy. We may safely assume, therefore, that while agreeing in 1123 to important territorial, fiscal and legal concessions to Venice, the royal party never envisaged the grant of High Justice. The absence of any elaboration as to the nature of Venetian jurisdiction may be ascribed to an understanding between both parties that the competence of Venetian courts would be restricted to civil cases. We will soon encounter similar tacit understandings with respect to the nature of fiscal exemptions.

Despite the general provision concerning urban quarters, Venice requested additional dispositions regarding four specific cities. Venice was primarily interested in ports favouring its seaborne commerce, yet nevertheless requested a quarter in Jerusalem, an inland city, in which it was promised as much property as owned by the king (§2).¹⁷ It is noteworthy that in Byzantium Venetian citizens were also active in inland cities such as Thebes, an important industrial centre producing silk fabrics, where their presence is attested since about 1070. Adrianople was another inland city to which they had access.¹⁸ In 1123 Venice apparently believed that the pilgrim traffic, in which it was already involved,¹⁹ would generate substantial profits in Jerusalem. Eventually, however, it never took advantage of its privileges there because its citizens failed to display any

¹⁶ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), pp. 67–68; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 222; Favreau-Lilie, *Italiener*, p. 438. The opposite view is upheld by Jean Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), p. 220; idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. Janet Shirley (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 272–273.

¹⁷ The quarter was defined as *plathea* in 1123 and *ruga* in 1125, these terms being thus interchangeable: Zorzi, pp. 109 and 113 = TTh, 1:85 and 91. The formulation 'tantum ad proprium habeant, quantum rex habere solitus est' surely refers to immovables, as with respect to grants elsewhere in the kingdom mentioned in the charter. This interpretation seems more plausible than the one appearing in the French version of William of Tyre's chronicle, which refers to revenue: 'autant de rante en leur propriété,' RHC Occ 1/1:551.

¹⁸ David Jacoby, 'Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85 (1991–92), 494–496; idem, 'Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: a Reconsideration,' *Anuario de estudios medievales* 25 (1995), 352.

¹⁹ See below p. 162.

interest in retail trade and settlement in the city.²⁰ In Tyre and Ascalon Venice was to receive one third of the urban territory, a much larger section than in other cities, in addition to one third of their respective rural hinterland (§15). In this region Venice held after 1124 numerous villages and benefited from one third of the income deriving from those it shared with other lords.²¹ The royal concession of a section of the countryside was clearly made at the insistence of Venice, which apparently wanted to ensure not only the provisioning of its citizens and ships in agricultural and pastoral produce, but also gain direct access to the production and export of expensive commodities such as sugar.²² One should remember that when Tyre was captured in 1124, the rural area around it had already been occupied for several years by Christian forces and the Venetians were thus fully acquainted with its resources.²³

The *Pactum Warmundi* devotes no less than seven of its seventeen clauses to Acre (§§3–9).²⁴ Venice's request for an extension of the urban section it had obtained in 1110, which was granted (§8), reflected its awareness of Acre's potential for economic development. The city's fast expanding economy was clearly attracting settlers, several of whom are mentioned by name as house owners (§§8–9). One of them was Guibert of Jaffa, presumably not a Venetian since his house was located in an urban section remaining in royal hands until 1123. Apparently motivated by economic factors, his move from Jaffa to Acre points to internal migration, a factor that has hitherto been overlooked for the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Incidentally, the charter's testimony about this individual supports the contemporary claim of the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres that Latin settlers in the Levant had 'become Orientals' and 'had forgotten the places of [their] birth,' which were 'not mentioned anymore.'²⁵ In practical terms this meant that they had begun to shed their western surnames and, instead, adopted eastern toponymic surnames. The paucity of Venetian documentation bearing on Acre and, more generally, on the crusader Levant in the first half of the twelfth century may partly explain the absence of direct evidence about Venetian settlement. One should also take into account the possible return of settlers to Venice, either in old age after a long and busy commercial career overseas, or earlier for some other reasons. From later sources we know that Venetian settlement in the crusader Levant and in Byzantium did not necessarily

²⁰ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 85–101, on the nature of Latin settlement in Jerusalem.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 145–156.

²² On which W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–1886), 2:685–686.

²³ WT 13.13, lines 42–63, pp. 601–602.

²⁴ §§3 and 4 are linked, and so are 8 and 9; they all refer to Acre. This is also the case of §5, which largely covers the same issues as the general disposition in §10, and of §6, connected to §5. Hence §7, inserted between other dispositions regarding Acre, also bears on this city. For a detailed justification of this reading, see below. The failure to perceive that the seven clauses deal exclusively with Acre has generated in the past some misunderstanding about these and other dispositions of the charter.

²⁵ FC 3.37. 2–3, pp. 747–748. This passage of the chronicle is dated to 1124–1127: *ibid.*, pp. 47–48.

entail life-long residence in these regions and was in many cases temporary, though in any event longer than between two sailing seasons.²⁶ The economic advantages deriving from a continuous long-term presence overseas were already obvious in Byzantium, as noted above, and must have been similarly perceived by the 1120s with respect to the crusader Levant. It is hard to believe, therefore, that the Venetians waited until the second half of the twelfth century before settling in some coastal cities of this region.²⁷ In any event, Venetian settlement in Acre between 1110 and 1123 is suggested by building activity in the first section of the city granted to Venice, in which some huts made of clay-plastered canes were replaced by two stone houses (§8).²⁸ More convincingly, it is implied by Pietro Zanni's ownership of a house in the same urban area, although his identification as a member of the powerful Venetian Ziani family has been called into question.²⁹

Venice obtained in 1123 some substantial fiscal privileges, namely a general exemption from entrance, departure and sojourn taxes in the entire kingdom, including baronial lands, as in Venice (§10). An explicit exemption from commercial dues was added for Acre, since this was the only city of the kingdom in which the Venetians conducted trade at that time (§5).³⁰ These clauses appear to be a repetition of the fiscal disposition obtained in 1100, yet it is not clear whether the latter had been duly implemented since then. There was an important addition, however, since it was agreed that the royal treasury would not compensate itself for the resulting loss of revenue by raising the taxes imposed upon foreigners trading with Venetians (§7). The inclusion of this clause was clearly prompted by Venice's experience in the Byzantine Empire, where the introduction of this device by the imperial authorities, sometime between 1082 and 1118, must have seriously curtailed Venetian commercial profits. Only in 1126, thus three years after the delivery of the *Pactum Warmundi*, did Venice obtain from Emperor John II Comnenus that his officials desist from this practice.³¹ On

²⁶ Jacoby, 'La dimensione demografica e sociale,' pp. 698, 703.

²⁷ Favreau-Lilie, *Italiener*, pp. 498–508, rightly criticizes Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 226–229, for mistaking commercial transactions as proof of Venetian settlement in the Levant since shortly after the *Pactum Warmundi*. She favours a much later date, yet fails to take into account temporary settlement and the fact that some settlers retained surnames referring to the Venetian parish from which they originated, thus making it difficult to identify them as settlers: see above, n. 26.

²⁸ Zorzi, p. 110: 'duas lapideas mansiones (...), que quondam casule de cannis esse solebant.' TTh, 1:86, have mistakenly assumed that 'cannis' was a proper name.

²⁹ Irmgard Fees, *Reichtum und Macht im mittelalterlichen Venedig. Die Familie Ziani*, Bibliothek des historischen Instituts in Rom 68 (Tübingen, 1988), pp. 51, 84, and next note. One argument against the identification is that the spelling of his surname does not conform with the one generally found, which may have been due to the royal chancellor Payen who drafted the charter of 1123. The other is that later in the twelfth century some members of the Ziani family were involved in commercial dealings with Acre, yet none are attested there as settlers: *ibid.*, pp. 51, 60–61, 88–91, and Favreau-Lilie, *Italiener*, pp. 503–504. On temporary residence see n. 26 above.

³⁰ Zorzi, pp. 109–110. Note that the words *vendendo*, *comparando* appear in the second instance only.

³¹ Jacoby, 'Italian Privileges and Trade,' pp. 354–355.

the other hand, the king's right to the collection of the *terciaria* from incoming and departing Venetian ships was maintained. Venice would be compensated by a yearly payment of three hundred Saracen besants from the king's portion in the revenue accruing from the royal market at Tyre, shared with Venice (§6).³² Since the charter uses the term *peregrini* in this context, it is generally assumed that the *terciaria* was a pilgrims' tax.³³ In fact, however, it was a due collected from shipmasters that amounted to one third of the fare paid by a vessel's passengers for themselves and their belongings, merchants sailing with their goods being exempted as implied by the term *peregrini*.³⁴ The royal treasury was unwilling to forgo its share of the substantial benefits expected from the expanding movement of pilgrims and crusaders, in which the Venetians were attempting to increase their own share. The inclusion of this clause among the dispositions regarding Acre is not surprising, in view of the city's major role in maritime traffic.³⁵

The *Pactum Warmundi* included some further fiscal concessions entailing losses to the royal treasury. In Acre the king's right to impose the exclusive use of his oven, mill and bathhouse was relinquished and Venice obtained the right to build and operate such facilities, the residents of the Venetian quarter being free to utilize them. The royal party also renounced the king's monopoly on markets, balances and standards, namely for the sale of wine, olive oil and honey, all of which were local products. Following Venice's request, Venetians would be compelled to use the Commune's scales and measures when trading among themselves or when selling to foreigners.³⁶ On the other hand, when they purchased goods from foreigners the parties were allowed to utilize royal weights and measures, in return for the customary taxes paid for their use, 'dato precio,' these transactions being then carried out in royal markets (§§3-4). While not amounting to a total transfer of monopolies from the king to Venice, these dispositions were likely to contribute to the strengthening of the Commune's authority over its own quarter in Acre and to enlarge the revenue deriving from it. Incidentally, such a development was largely precluded in twelfth-century

³² The king was entitled to two thirds of this revenue, according to §15.

³³ Eg., Favreau-Lilie, *Italiener*, pp. 123, 329, 464, 469, 471-472, 483, 485, 496, 539-540.

³⁴ The term applied to both pilgrims and crusaders and, more generally, to passengers in a maritime context, yet there was a clear distinction between merchants and other passengers: Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: Towards the History of the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade,' *Studi medievali*, 3a ser. 13 (1972), 268-269 = idem, *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1993), no. 16. The general meaning is confirmed by the charter delivered in 1190 by King Guy of Lusignan to Marseilles, which stipulated that the *terciaria* would also be levied from small ships involved in cabotage along the Levantine coast ('lignis parvis de riberia'); these vessels transported passengers, yet definitely not pilgrims, as suggested by their itinerary: ed. by Hans E. Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel und ein akkonensisches Fälscheratelier des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom 38 (Tübingen, 1972), p. 185. For another, similar instance, see below, n. 67.

³⁵ The clause does not refer to ports other than Acre, contrary to Favreau-Lilie, *Italiener*, p. 464.

³⁶ The emphasis was on their own facilities, and not on their own goods, as in the translation of Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 71.

Egypt, where the use of the state's facilities was mandatory. In 1172 the Pisans were allowed to use their own weights within their *funduq* of Alexandria, thus exclusively for transactions among themselves, yet this privilege was not renewed in 1207 or 1208.³⁷ In the Byzantine Empire the utilization of Venetian weights and measures was similarly restricted to dealings among Venetians. In both countries it was voluntary and could not be enforced.³⁸

The *Pactum Warmundi* includes two legal concessions directly related to the exercise of trade. The crown renounced its right to property left by a Venetian, regardless of whether he died testate or intestate (§12). A similar rule would apply to goods washed ashore or belonging to an owner who had drowned (§13), apparently a repetition of the relevant disposition of 1100. All these cases were in respect of movable property, which from now on would be delivered to its legal heirs or, should none of them be available in the kingdom, to other Venetians who would transfer them to destination. These provisions imply that at that time Venetians, both travelling merchants and settlers, were in the Levant mostly on their own, without any relatives nearby. The reference to Venetians in general, and not to a specific official of the Commune, reveals the absence of any Venetian governmental structure or permanent representation in the Levant. This feature, also common to other Venetian communities existing around the Eastern Mediterranean, was to last until after the Third Crusade, when Venice finally stationed in Acre a senior official in charge of its interests in the Levant.³⁹

From a comparison between the charters of 1123 and 1125 it is clear that tough bargaining between the two parties preceded the drafting of the *Privilegium Balduini*. To be sure, the formulation of some dispositions was slightly changed without altering their meaning.⁴⁰ Yet, contrary to common belief, this document was not largely a confirmation of the *Pactum Warmundi*, since the two widely differ in wording, in the disposition of their clauses, and in content. While Venice basically safeguarded its main achievements of 1123, Baldwin II reduced them both in matters of principle and in practical terms. The undertaking of Patriarch Gormond to compel Baldwin II, once released from captivity, or any successor to the throne to confirm the agreement he had reached with Venice (§16) was omitted, since by issuing his document the king was fulfilling Gormond's pledge. One of the king's main concerns was to preserve his full royal authority, despite the concessions made to Venice. He presumably considered the reference to the obligation of the king's successors to abide by the original agreement too stringent

³⁷ David Jacoby, 'Les Italiens en Egypte aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: du comptoir à la colonie?', in Alain Ducellier and Michel Balard (eds.), *Coloniser au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1995), pp. 80, 84.

³⁸ Silvano Borsari, *Venezia e Bisanzio nel XII secolo. I rapporti economici*, Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, Miscellanea di studi e memorie 26 (Venice, 1988), pp. 54–55, fails to stress this last aspect.

³⁹ David Jacoby, 'Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187–1192),' in Laura Balletto, (ed.), *Atti del Congresso Internazionale 'Dai feudi monferrini e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli Oceani'* (Alessandria, 1993), pp. 216, 224.

⁴⁰ Eg., above, n. 17.

(§1), and deleted it. While maintaining Venice's rights to its urban quarters and rural territories around Tyre and Ascalon, the king opposed the notion that their grant was perpetual, which might have implied that the territories held by Venice were no more included in the kingdom. In order to reassert royal authority over them the word *imperpetuum*, used twice in 1123 (§§1, 15), was scrapped from the corresponding clauses of 1125 (§§1, 12). This purposeful omission entailed both legal and practical implications. It was closely linked to the obligation of military service by a number of cavalrymen, which the king imposed in 1125 upon Venice in return for its portion of the lordship of Tyre (§13). As a result, this portion lost its allodial status and became a fief held from the king.

While gaining the upper hand in these legal issues, Baldwin II was compelled to yield in others. Venice obtained some seemingly minor changes in the formulation of two judicial dispositions. As noted earlier, the *Pactum Warmundi* conferred judicial authority to Venetian courts over commoners residing in Venetian houses situated outside the Commune's quarters, 'in (...) domibus Veneticorum' (§14). The replacement of the preposition *in* by *super* in 1125 entailed a further extension of this authority to the houses themselves, 'super domos eorum' (§11), which amounted to an expansion of Venice's territorial rights beyond the boundaries of its quarters.⁴¹ In view of the king's stand regarding royal prerogatives, noted earlier, the change in wording is rather surprising, yet Baldwin II may have been willing to pay the price for concessions wrung from Venice that he considered of greater significance. In addition, the king omitted the explicit reference to commercial litigation from the other clause dealing with Venetian jurisdiction (1123, §11, and 1125, §8: 'placitum vel litigationem'). It is difficult to believe that Baldwin II would have concurred with Venice's request in this respect, unless there was an understanding between the two parties that the Venetian courts would continue to deal exclusively with commercial suits along the lines determined in 1123. In both cases the king and his councillors failed to foresee the far-reaching implications which the new wording would acquire in the long run. It opened the way for a much broader interpretation of Venetian judicial prerogatives at the expense of royal authority and carried a potential for serious strife between the two parties.

Baldwin II also achieved some successes in fiscal matters. The mandatory use of Venice's scales and measures, previously imposed in specific cases upon the Venetians in Acre (1123, §4), was abolished and the latter were thus free to use royal facilities. There is good reason to believe that Venice collected lower dues than the king in order to induce both Venetians and their foreign business partners to conclude deals within the boundaries of the Venetian quarter of the city and ensure thereby a revenue for its own treasury. Royal pressure upon Venice also resulted in the lifting of the disposition prohibiting the levy of heavier royal dues from those trading with Venetians (1123, §7). The king apparently resented

⁴¹ In 1187 Pisa failed in its attempt to extend its authority over houses owned by Pisans outside its quarter of Tyre: Jacoby, 'Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat,' p. 198.

this clause because it appeared to limit royal authority in fiscal matters, yet at the same time he must have promised Venice that he would not take advantage of its omission. Significantly, there was no reference to the original disposition of 1123 in the following period. In addition, the clause of 1123 granting total fiscal exemption in Acre (§5) was scrapped, since it appeared to be covered by the general disposition of the same nature (§10), taken over in 1125 (§6). Three of the clauses dealing with Acre in 1123 (§§3, 8 and 9) were repeated and grouped in 1125 (§§3, 4 and 5), while the one dealing with pilgrimage (§6) was inserted among the general dispositions of Baldwin's charter (§7). In short, in 1125 there was more emphasis on general dispositions, presumably at Venice's request, in order to ensure a broader territorial interpretation and implementation of its privileges.

Venice obtained a further concession with respect to passenger traffic. The levy of the *terciaria*, imposed in 1123 in Acre on both incoming and departing vessels carrying pilgrims and warriors, was henceforth limited to outbound ships (1123 and 1125, §2). The new disposition was clearly advantageous to Venetian ship operators, since it ensured them of the full fare paid by passengers for the journey to the Holy Land (§7). Moreover, from experience these operators already knew that not all passengers travelling eastwards returned home, some of them dying on the way or in the Levant and others remaining in this region. Pilgrims must have generally paid in advance for the round trip,⁴² while the *terciaria* collected from ship-masters was presumably proportionate to the total amount of transportation fees paid by actual passengers, thus leaving further profits in the hands of the operators. In 1123 the *terciaria* appeared in the section of the charter devoted to Acre, while in 1125 it was included among the general dispositions. This change in location, however, did not entail any practical implications, since Acre retained its function as the main port of call for Venetian passenger traffic. Venice raised yet another fiscal issue in 1125. It would seem that its right to collect fees in return for the utilization of its own scales, measures, bathhouse, oven and mill in Acre was disputed by residents of its quarter, possibly on the ground that the charter of 1123 stipulated that they were free to use them. In 1125, therefore, Venice insisted upon the addition of an explicit reference to payment for the use of these facilities. The king readily agreed to this request, since it did not entail any concession on his part.⁴³

At this juncture it may prove useful to draw attention to some basic features of the agreements of 1123 and 1125, which had a major impact upon later relations of Venice with the kings of Jerusalem and some barons. First, under the circumstances prevailing in the 1120s in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in particular, both parties considered their agreements as essentially bearing on Venetian merchants engaging in maritime and local trade

⁴² This practice is duly attested since the thirteenth century.

⁴³ 1123, §3: 'quicumque voluerit coquere (...), libere liceat;' 1125, §3: 'libere liceat, quicumque voluerit, (...) precio suo coquere...'

in the kingdom's ports and residing temporarily there in order to further their business. In 1164 Doge Vitale Michiel still referred to these original features with respect to the Venetian quarter of Tyre, 'que data et concessa fuit nostro comuni pro hospitacione Venetorum, quando illuc irent.'⁴⁴ Secondly, it should be borne in mind that the *Pactum Warmundi* of 1123 was superseded in 1125 by the *Privilegium Balduini* and, consequently, the latter was the only legally binding document since then. In 1164 Vitale Michiel explicitly mentioned Baldwin II when dealing with the annual sum of 300 bezants from the royal revenue in Tyre, although it had also been mentioned in the charter of 1123.⁴⁵ In the early 1240s Marsilio Zorzi similarly referred to the charter of 1125 as authoritative.⁴⁶ This basic Venetian approach is not contradicted by the opportunistic submission of a copy of the *Pactum Warmundi* to Conrad of Montferrat in the spring of 1191, when Venice requested a confirmation of its privileges in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. At that time, shortly before the reconquest of Acre from the Muslims, the immediate concern of Venice's representatives in Tyre was the recovery of lost Venetian property in this city and especially its countryside, as confirmed by the first clause in Conrad's charter of 7 May 1191.⁴⁷ From a Venetian point of view the *Pactum Warmundi* was then more advantageous than the charter of 1125, since it lacked the military obligations imposed by Baldwin II in return for the holding of property in the lordship of Tyre.

The combination of allodial rights with the exercise of jurisdiction and taxation in specific cases, as defined in 1125, provided Venice's quarters and rural possessions with a quasi extra-territorial status. This status, however, could not be fully achieved as long as the exercise of criminal justice remained in royal hands. Despite this important limitation, Venice's achievement in the realm of jurisdiction was substantial and in principle enhanced the Commune's authority over its possessions, though not necessarily in practical terms. This is convincingly illustrated by the progressive erosion of Venice's privileges and property, which began shortly after 1125. King Fulk, who ruled from 1131 to 1143, unilaterally suspended the yearly payment of three hundred bezants to which the Commune was entitled. Venice had not yet recovered it by 1164.⁴⁸ In addition, it suffered from growing usurpation of its property and revenue in the countryside and city of Tyre from about that period, a process that continued until 1242.⁴⁹ In the spring of that year the Venetian government instructed Marsilio Zorzi, appointed bailo in Acre, to seek redress for these and other infringements of Venetian privileges and interests in the Levant. During his stay in the region, which lasted from 1242 to 1244, Zorzi compiled an extensive memorandum that

⁴⁴ TTh 1:140.

⁴⁵ TTh 1:141.

⁴⁶ See below, n. 81.

⁴⁷ TTh 1:212–215, with wrong dating. On the circumstances: Jacoby, 'Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat,' pp. 216–217.

⁴⁸ TTh 1:141.

⁴⁹ Jacoby, 'Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat,' pp. 196–197, 200, 216–217.

was to provide legal arguments for the maintenance and recovery of Venice's privileges and property.⁵⁰ At first glance this document comprises what appears to be a curious mixture of sources, which nevertheless are closely linked one to another.⁵¹ Zorzi chose two long excerpts from a French version of the chronicle of William of Tyre, the great twelfth-century historian of the Latin Kingdom, which offer the historical background for the granting of the *Pactum Warmundi* and the *Privilegium Balduini*.⁵² Between the two narrative texts he inserted the original Latin version of these two documents.⁵³ Later on he added the charter of December 1221 in favour of Venice issued by the lord of Beirut, John of Ibelin.⁵⁴ Furthermore, he included inventories of Venice's property in the lordship of Tyre and in Acre, and enumerated the assets confiscated in Cyprus from the Commune and Venetian individuals.⁵⁵ He also listed Venice's grievances against the royal administration, which he accused of encroaching upon Venice's privileges and, finally, reviewed his own action to obtain redress.

The inclusion of several chapters from William of Tyre's chronicle is a highly original feature of Zorzi's memorandum. His choice of a Levantine, rather than a Venetian chronicle, and of a French version, rather than the original Latin one, illustrates his historical awareness and political acumen. William of Tyre not only provided the most elaborate account of the events leading to the granting of the charters of 1123 and 1125. In the Kingdom of Jerusalem his chronicle was also considered an authoritative source, with which Venetian legal argumentation could be enhanced. In the thirteenth century the members of the nobility displayed a poor knowledge of Latin, and their preference for French is duly illustrated by the books that circulated in their milieu, whether fictional prose, poetry or historical and legal works.⁵⁶ At the time of Zorzi's sojourn in Acre the French version of William of Tyre's chronicle was undoubtedly more readily available there and would anyhow have been better understood than the Latin one. By contrast, Zorzi preferred the original and authoritative Latin texts of the charters

⁵⁰ An incomplete version of this memorandum is edited in TTh 2:351–398, and its full text in Zorzi, pp. 101–191. Its purpose is stated in two preambles: Zorzi, p. 101, lines 4–12, and p. 135, lines 1–5 = TTh 2:354, for the second section.

⁵¹ For the order in which they appear: Zorzi, pp. 1–2.

⁵² Zorzi, pp. 102–108, 116–134. The first excerpt is preceded by the following: 'Incipit ystoria et privilegium.' The introductory 'incipit ystoria' intended for the second excerpt was misplaced by a copyist and, instead, appears before Zorzi's report on his activity in the Levant, p. 135, line 1.

⁵³ Zorzi, p. 108, line 8 to p. 116, line 11.

⁵⁴ Zorzi, pp. 182–183 = TTh 2:230–232.

⁵⁵ For Cyprus: David Jacoby, 'The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century,' *Meletai kai hypomnemata, Hidryma archiepiskopou Makariou III* 1 (1984), 164–166 = idem, *Studies*, no. 8.

⁵⁶ David Jacoby, 'La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et création', in *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin. Actes du IXe Congrès international de la Société Rencesvals pour l'étude des épopées romanes (Padoue-Venise, 1982)* (Modena, 1984), pp. 617–646, and idem, 'Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean,' *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986), 158–186 = idem, *Studies*, nos. 2 and 1, respectively.

of 1123 and 1125, rather than their much abridged version incorporated in the French text from which he drew the narrative sections of William of Tyre.⁵⁷ Though aware that only the second document was binding, he included both of them in his memorandum, presumably because he considered that they could be used selectively to further Venetian interests. We have already noted that the Venetians produced the text of the *Pactum Warmundi* when it suited them, as in Tyre in 1191.⁵⁸ At first glance it is rather puzzling, therefore, that Zorzi omitted the charter of June 1222 issued by the lord of Beirut, John of Ibelin, in various ways more favourable for Venice than the previous one of December 1221.⁵⁹

Marsilio Zorzi bitterly complained that in various circumstances the royal administration imposed dues on Venetian merchants, despite the full fiscal exemption to which they were entitled. Thus taxes were levied in Acre on the sale of merchandise imported from Damascus and other inland cities under Muslim rule, half their amount being imposed if the goods were in transit on their way to Venice. Evasion from the tax, whether full or partial, was possible only if the merchant had reached an agreement with the royal customs official collecting the dues or, in other words, if he bribed him before his own departure.⁶⁰ Venetian exports from Acre to Damascus and other Muslim inland cities, the overland transfer of goods originating in Venice from crusader ports to Acre, and the import of slaves and horses for sale in Acre were all taxed.⁶¹ Zorzi referred to these practices as 'iniusticia' and contended that in all these cases the royal officials were violating Venetian privileges. Modern historians have concurred with this partisan view. Yet Zorzi's memorandum also reveals that the dues he mentioned were customary and had been collected from Venetians for so many years that no one even remembered since when. In the past repeated Venetian protests had failed to yield any results.⁶² One may wonder, therefore, whether after all the royal administration did not have some strong legal arguments justifying the enforcement of its fiscal practices.

We have already noted that in the 1120s, when the *Privilegium Balduini* was drafted, Venetian activity in the Levant was limited to seaborne commerce and local trade in the ports of the region. However, the diversification and geographic expansion of Venetian trade in the course of the twelfth century generated new and unforeseen problems in the interpretation and implementation of the

⁵⁷ RHC Occ 1/1:550–553.

⁵⁸ See above, n. 47.

⁵⁹ The former in TTh 2:232–234. An explanation for the omission is suggested below pp. 170–171.

⁶⁰ Zorzi, p. 180, lines 1–6 = TTh 2:397–398. The first amount was obviously 8 bezants (not 9, as in the manuscript) and 8 carats, and the second 4 bezants and 4 carats, thus half that sum *pro centenario*. Zorzi's claim that the taxes were sometimes collected and sometimes not, 'et quandocumque evenit, quod recipiunt, et quandocumque non,' also hints at the bribing of crown officials.

⁶¹ Zorzi, p. 180, lines 7–17 = TTh 2:398.

⁶² See esp. Zorzi, p. 180, lines 17–19 = TTh 2:398: 'Et de istis supradictis longo tempore nos molestaverunt et acceperunt nobis ita, quod fere non exstat memoriam, sed tamen semper est eis contradictum, quod iniuste faciunt et recipiunt.'

dispositions upon which Venice and Baldwin II had agreed. When the Venetians began to engage in overland trade, they were taxed like other, non-privileged merchants. The royal officials presumably argued that this new type of trade was covered neither by the spirit of the agreement reached in 1125, nor by precedents. By contrast, Venice relied on the wording of the charter to claim that the tax exemptions were valid, regardless of the circumstances. These conflicting interpretations are indirectly confirmed by the two charters in favour of Venice issued by John of Ibelin some twenty years before Zorzi's arrival in the Levant. The one of December 1221 restricted Venetian tax exemptions in Beirut to imports through the *cathena* or maritime toll station of the city and to local purchases in its *funda* or seignorial market, in conformity with the spirit of the *Privilegium Balduini*.⁶³ However, strong Venetian pressure compelled the lord of Beirut to issue a new charter only seven months later, which explicitly extended tax exemptions to overland commerce, 'etiam de omnibus mercibus que veniunt per mare et per terram.'⁶⁴ Venice failed to obtain a similar success in the royal domain, where the king's officials were merely applying the rules in good faith, in accordance with precedents and to the best of royal interests.

This was also the case with the tax of one bezant levied on the slaves and horses the Venetians imported for sale in Acre.⁶⁵ It had been imposed for many years, both upon Venetians and upon the merchants of other maritime nations supposedly exempt from all commercial dues. In 1229, though, Frederick II rewarded the Pisans for their political support during his presence in the kingdom by exempting them from the tax on the import or export of horses and other riding animals, whether by land or by sea.⁶⁶ Zorzi also raised the issue of the *terciaria*. The charter of Baldwin II had stipulated that this tax would be imposed exclusively upon outbound ships carrying passengers who were not merchants. Yet contrary to this charter, 'contra formam nostri privilegii et pacta,' royal officials were also levying it from incoming ships and vessels in transit, which implies that the Venetians had also extended and diversified their activity in shipping and in the transportation of passengers.⁶⁷ Zorzi obtained the strict implementation of the clause regarding the *terciaria*. However, he failed to gain total exemption from this tax, a request of his conceived as compensation for the suspension of the yearly payment of 300 bezants promised to the Commune in 1125.⁶⁸

One of Zorzi's main concerns was the recovery of Venetian property and rights in Tyre, a city held since July 1242 by Balian of Ibelin in his capacity as royal

⁶³ See above, n. 54.

⁶⁴ See above, n. 59.

⁶⁵ Zorzi, p. 180, lines 1–17 = TTh 2:397–398.

⁶⁶ Giuseppe Müller, ed., *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI* (Florence, 1879), p. 97, no. 66.

⁶⁷ Zorzi, p. 179, lines 19–23: 'ab omnibus nostris Venetis, qui aliquos homines in suis navibus et vasscellis portant per dictum regnum vel alibi.' Note the absence of the term *peregrini* in this context.

⁶⁸ Zorzi, p. 179, lines 24–28 = TTh 2:397. See also above, n. 48.

custodian of the lordship of Tyre.⁶⁹ Zorzi restored the Commune's authority over its quarter and some of its property in the countryside, yet not over all Venetian possessions in the city. In addition, he obtained the cancellation of abusive royal taxation on the sale of various commodities in the Venetian quarter and managed to restore the Commune's exclusive authority in this field. He also recovered the Venetian portion of the revenues shared with the king, which had been usurped by the representative of Emperor Frederick II, Riccardo Filangieri.⁷⁰ In line with the charter of 1125, he re-established Venetian jurisdiction and taxation over the Syrian and Jewish residents of the quarter, denied to Venice since the reign of King John of Brienne or even earlier. He forcefully asserted that this quarter constituted a separate territorial and legal entity, distinct from the royal portion of the city, and that the Commune enjoyed in it full jurisdiction, like the king in his own section. The wording was clearly a reflection of the formulation found in the charter of 1125 (§§1 and 11).⁷¹ Yet, since neither this document nor the ancient oath of the Venetian judges in Tyre defined the precise nature of Venetian jurisdiction, conflicts between royal and foreign jurisdictions were bound to arise.⁷² When Zorzi contended that the Commune's judicial competence included criminal justice and that the latter had been denied to Venice for many years, he encountered the fierce opposition of the royal officials and was rebuffed.⁷³

In their charters in favour of Pisa both King Baldwin III in 1156 and, even more explicitly, King Amalric I in 1168 had stated that High Justice was an exclusive royal prerogative.⁷⁴ The kings of Jerusalem, their officials and the barons of the kingdom staunchly maintained this policy in their dealings with the maritime powers throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is further illustrated by a comparison of the charters issued in favour of Venice by the lord of Beirut, John of Ibelin, in December 1221 and June 1222 respectively. Both documents grant the Commune the right to establish its own court in Beirut and to exercise justice except in three cases, namely homicide, rape and theft. While enlarging Venice's fiscal privileges, the second charter contains a significant addition bearing on jurisdiction. It was obviously introduced at John of Ibelin's insistence in order to put an end once and for all to Venetian claims to High Justice. The three types of criminal offences just mentioned, it maintains, should be handled as in Acre, which confirms that High Justice indeed remained there outside the reach of the Venetian court.⁷⁵ This explicit restriction of Venice's jurisdiction to civil matters explains why Zorzi refrained from including in his memorandum the charter delivered by John of Ibelin in June 1222: it could not

⁶⁹ On the circumstances: David Jacoby, 'The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant,' *DOP* 40 (1986), 83–94 = *idem*, *Studies*, no. 3.

⁷⁰ Zorzi, p. 135, lines 6–10 and p. 140, line 13 to p. 141, line 7 = TTh 2:354, 359–360.

⁷¹ Zorzi, p. 139, lines 4–9, 21 to p. 140, line 12 = TTh 2:358–359.

⁷² Zorzi found the oath 'in consuetudine antiqua:' Zorzi, p. 141, lines 8–17 = TTh 2:360.

⁷³ Zorzi, p. 139, lines 10–11 = TTh 2:358.

⁷⁴ Müller, *Documenti*, pp. 7 and 14, nos. 5 and 11, respectively.

⁷⁵ TTh 2:233: 'Et ista tria, sicuti habent in Anco' [*sic* for 'Accon'].

be submitted to the royal administration to sustain Venice's claims to criminal justice. Zorzi's attempt to enlarge the Commune's authority in this field was based on the widest possible literal interpretation of the judicial privileges granted to Venice in 1125. By contrast, the royal party relied on the spirit of this charter and precedents, as in various fiscal matters examined above. In sum, despite Zorzi's contention Venice had not suffered any curtailment of its jurisdiction.

Zorzi's efforts to gain authority in criminal cases were eventually rewarded. At first, shortly after his return from Tyre to Acre in July 1242, the royal viscount of that city refused to extradite a Venetian accused of theft, as he had requested, on the ground that the Venetian court lacked authority in *ius sanguinis*. The viscount nevertheless handed the culprit over to the master of the Templars, who in turn transferred him to Zorzi. Additional cases were handled in a similar way. It appears, then, that the two sides had reached a compromise. While maintaining his stand in principle, the royal official enabled the Venetian *baillo* to exercise High Justice.⁷⁶ A somewhat different arrangement along the same lines was implemented in Tyre with the agreement of the royal castellan Ugo Amiratus or Amirallus and Gerardo Pisani, apparently his successor, who transferred to Zorzi a Venetian accused of having stolen sugar canes, as well as several others for unspecified reasons. The viscount Salvaçu acted similarly. In addition, the lord of Beirut, Balian of Ibelin, delivered to Zorzi a Venetian from Cyprus who had stolen money from one of his own knights. Zorzi stresses that he conducted the trials in public in order to establish precedents and consolidate thereby Venice's right to High Justice.⁷⁷ Yet the restrictions imposed upon him contradict his claim that he freely exercised justice in cases of theft and murder. He was compelled to accept the presence of royal officials at the trials of Venetians for theft and, since he fails to mention specific cases of homicide, we may be sure that none were brought to his court.

Venice's position in Acre was decisively strengthened by its victory in the War of St. Sabas, which ended in 1258. In the following period the Commune pursued in the city an expansion policy sustained by the annexation and purchase of property located outside its own quarter and surrounded both its old and new territory by a wall. It consolidated its hold on that territory by extending over it its own jurisdiction in conformity with the *Privilegium Balduini* (§11), yet at the expense of royal rights. In addition, Venice managed to gain recognition of the ecclesiastical authority of the church of San Marco over its own enlarged quarter, at the expense of Acre's bishop.⁷⁸ Marsilio Zorzi's successors continued to exercise High Justice, although we lack information about the procedure

⁷⁶ Zorzi, p. 138, lines 10–17 = TTh 2:357.

⁷⁷ Zorzi, p. 139, lines 10–20: 'et his fecimus ut curie nostre fuit visum faciendi.' Ugo Amiratus was still in office in April 1243: Peter Jackson, 'The End of Hohenstaufen Rule in Syria,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 59 (1986), 25–26, and Zorzi, p. 200.

⁷⁸ David Jacoby, 'L'évolution urbaine et la fonction méditerranéenne d'Acre à l'époque des croisades,' in Ennio Poleggi, ed., *Città portuali del Mediterraneo, storia e archeologia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Genova 1985* (Genoa, 1989), p. 103.

followed. Neither the royal administration, which mostly represented absentee kings, nor King Hugh III of Lusignan, the barons or the high ecclesiastical dignitaries were able or willing to prevent these developments.⁷⁹ Conditions appeared to have changed in the summer of 1277 after the arrival of Ruggero di San Severino, the representative of the new king of Jerusalem, Charles I of Anjou.⁸⁰ He initiated a forceful policy aimed at the recovery of the crown's lost rights and property, which not only endangered Venice's achievements of the last twenty years in Acre, but also some of those it had obtained as far back as 1125. Ruggero di San Severino contested both Venice's right to High Justice and its judicial authority over the residents of its own quarter. Never before had the latter been called into question. Moreover, he refused to exempt Venetian land trade from taxation, also denied during Zorzi's term of office. Finally, he requested the payment of the *terciaria* from incoming ships carrying passengers, a flagrant infringement of the relevant disposition of 1125. These issues were listed in the detailed letter of instructions given to the ambassadors dispatched by Venice to King Charles I. These ambassadors also carried with them a copy of the *Privilegium Balduini*. As in the past, differences in the interpretation of this charter were at the root of the frictions between Venice and the royal officials.⁸¹ The outcome of the negotiations with Charles I is unknown, yet it would seem that the status quo existing at the time of Ruggero di San Severino's arrival in Acre was restored.⁸² In any event, Venice did not raise the same issues in the following years, although this did not prevent it from pursuing its expansionist policy in Acre.⁸³

By contrast to Acre, Marsilio Zorzi's achievements in Tyre were lost when the city's lord, Philip of Montfort, expelled the Venetians from his city in 1256 or 1257, in the course of the War of St. Sabas.⁸⁴ In 1277 the fear of an attack by the joint forces of Ruggero di San Severino and Venice induced Philip's successor, John of Montfort, to reach an agreement with Venice's *bailo* in Acre, Albertino Morosini, to whom he made far-reaching concessions.⁸⁵ According to the agreement of the 1 July 1277 the Commune recovered its property, rights

⁷⁹ This is also implied by the Venetian document mentioned below, n. 81.

⁸⁰ For his course of action: Marco Pozza, 'Acri e Negroponte: un capitolo delle relazioni fra Venezia e Carlo d'Angiò (1277-1282),' *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 3a ser. 21 (1982), 29-33, 36-37, 42-45.

⁸¹ The relevant instructions are edited *ibid.*, pp. 67-72. Note p. 69: 'formam pacti nostri de quo portatis exemplum,' the nature of this copy being revealed by the reference to the *terciaria* as defined in 1125. See also p. 70, with respect to Charles I: 'dicendo (...) quod aliter intelligit verba pacti quam nos intelligamus.'

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 52-54.

⁸³ David Jacoby, 'L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle,' *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), 230-231 = *idem*, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle. Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979), no. 7.

⁸⁴ The exact date is unknown: Georg Caro, *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer, 1257-1311. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1895), 1:36-37.

⁸⁵ TTh 3:150-158. On the circumstances: Pozza, 'Acri e Negroponte,' pp. 37-43.

and jurisdiction in the lordship of Tyre, both in the city and its rural hinterland, and individual Venetians regained possession of their assets. As explicitly stated, there would be a return to the situation existing during Zorzi's tenure of office. This specific reference was clearly requested by Venice, which relied on the precedents he had established to achieve further gains, particularly obvious in the legal field. Venice would hold its portion of the lordship 'libere et regaliter,' as defined in 1125 (§15). Henceforth the two parties, the lord of Tyre and Venice, would be in this respect on an equal footing as 'consortes et veri domini,' each of them enjoying the same authority in its respective portion. The foremost expression of this equality was Venice's right to exercise both civil and criminal justice over Venetians, as well as over the permanent and temporary residents of its portion. Philip of Montfort had already concluded a similar agreement with Genoa in 1264. It is likely that the verdicts of the Venetian court in criminal cases were to be carried out by the lord of Tyre, as stipulated in that agreement.⁸⁶ With respect to Venice, the shift from its tolerated exercise of High Justice, as in Zorzi's days, to the recognition of its full authority in this field was a highly significant achievement. It was explicitly stated, however, that the lord of Tyre retained judicial authority over his liegemen and burgesses residing in the Venetian quarter. A similar rule had been imposed in the past with respect to Pisans holding fiefs or burgage tenures from the king.⁸⁷ In 1277 this restriction must have also been prompted by John of Montfort's fear that some of his subjects, whether or not living in Venice's quarter, might invoke the Venetian nationality they had acquired to evade trials in his courts. Venice's occasional grant of this privilege to foreigners, including royal vassals and burgesses, is attested in Acre in 1257 and may have already been practiced earlier.⁸⁸ The whole formulation of 1277 was supposedly in accordance with the terms of the *Privilegium Balduini*, 'secundum terminos definitos ab antiquo.' In fact, however, the extent of Venetian jurisdiction conformed with Venice's widest interpretation of the charter of 1125, while the restriction *ratione personae* flatly contradicted it. At Venice's explicit request John of Montfort added that the use of his title 'lord of Tyre' would not impinge upon the rights of the parties to the treaty.⁸⁹

The charter of 1277 also settled several other issues. Individuals visiting Tyre would be tried by the court of the city's portion in which they committed an offence. The principle that Venetian defendants would be judged in the bailo's court in cases in which they were opposed to the lord's subjects followed the rule of 1125. Full exemption from taxation was promised for both seaborne and land trade, an improvement on the privilege of 1125. The ownership of a plot of land in the city, on which a tower had been built, would be determined. John of Montfort promised to repair the public buildings of the Commune or compensate it for

⁸⁶ Cornelio Desimoni (ed.), 'Quatre titres des Génois à Acre et à Tyr,' *AOL* 2/2 (1884), 225–226.

⁸⁷ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 244–245.

⁸⁸ Jacoby, 'L'expansion occidentale,' pp. 245–246.

⁸⁹ TTh 3:152, 157–158.

their destruction. He would also transfer to Venice's representatives the revenue yielded by the property belonging to the Commune and Venetian individuals, which he and his father had collected in the city and its rural hinterland since 1256 or 1257. An arbitration committee composed of the patriarch of Jerusalem and the masters of the Templars and the Hospitallers would determine the sums owed by the lord of Tyre and the respective rights of the parties, if any disagreement between them arose. In each such case John of Montfort was to obtain the king's approval to the procedure of arbitration. The respective rights of the parties or the king would not be prejudiced, should the latter delay his answer up to one month.⁹⁰ To be sure, as royal vassal the lord of Tyre was careful to avoid any alienation of crown rights.⁹¹ One may wonder, however, whether he was not also seeking a way to evade some of his own obligations toward Venice, a course of action facilitated by the policy pursued by Ruggero di San Severino since his arrival in Acre.

This appears to be confirmed by John of Montfort's numerous infringements of his agreement with Venice. In August 1283 Venice's *Maggior Consiglio* adopted the advice of a committee which included Albertino Morosini, the signatory of the treaty of 1277. The Venetian *baillo* serving in Tyre was instructed to conduct negotiations with the lord of the city and demand the full implementation of the charters of 1125 and 1277. The Commune should enjoy its share of the land and fiscal revenues of the city and countryside of Tyre, in conformity with the original partition. It should also exercise full sovereignty, as well as civil and criminal justice in its portion of the lordship, 'cum tertia parte pleni et liberi dominii et signorie.' In addition, the Venetians should benefit from total tax exemption in all types of trade. In sum, all the major issues supposedly settled in 1277 had to be reconfirmed. Finally, Venice would contribute one third of the expenses incurred in matters useful to its own interests, provided a prior agreement between the two parties had been reached.⁹² Work in the harbour was presumably envisaged. There is no evidence regarding the outcome of the talks with John of Montfort.

Contrary to widespread belief, the concessions granted to Venice in the *Pactum Warmundi* did not amount to the 'creation of a state within the kingdom' of Jerusalem since 1123.⁹³ During the entire crusader period the Venetian privileges, as defined in the authoritative *Privilegium Balduini* of 1125, were the subject of conflicting interpretations by Venice on the one hand, the crown and some barons on the other. Their preservation and implementation required constant vigilance and efforts on the part of Venice. Two factors in particular prompted the Commune to seek an extension of its privileges and authority: important changes

⁹⁰ TTh 3:154–155.

⁹¹ Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 224–225.

⁹² Roberto Cessi, ed., *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 3 vols. (Bologna, 1931–1950), 3:43–44, §129.

⁹³ As stated by Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 222.

in the nature of Venetian trade and presence in the kingdom since the twelfth century, and the acquisition of wide-ranging jurisdiction in its portion of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and its own colonies after the Fourth Crusade. Venice attempted to exploit vague formulations and loopholes in the charters it had obtained, yet encountered the strong opposition of royal and baronial officials, who at times even limited arbitrarily the implementation of privileges the interpretation of which was not disputed. High Justice was undoubtedly the most sensitive issue between the parties. In this field Marsilio Zorzi was the first to achieve some significant success for Venice, between 1242 and 1244, since he created a precedent on which the Commune was able to build in the following period. In practice Venice's quarter in Acre and its portion of the lordship of Tyre became truly extra-territorial enclaves in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, despite some apparent restrictions on the Commune's exercise of criminal justice. Not until 1277, though, did Venice obtain recognition of its right to this type of jurisdiction in the lordship of Tyre. It is not clear to what extent it managed to maintain effectively its achievements in this field in the last years of crusader rule.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5334 and the Origins of the Hospitaller Master¹

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In the wake of the recent discovery of a manuscript in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, illustrated by the "Hospitaller Master" in Acre,² a second codex newly identified as decorated by his hand has come to light in Paris. Introducing this codex here and discussing aspects of the art historical significance of this find seems to be an appropriate way of honouring Hans E. Mayer, who has been such an outstanding and prolific scholar dealing with medieval and especially crusader history in terms of manuscripts, the texts they contain and the problems and opportunities they present to the researcher.

Paris, B.N., MS lat. 5334³ is a compendium of Latin texts⁴ written by a single hand as a *libellus* on the life and miracles of St Martin, the great saint of

¹ I would like to thank François Avril, David Ganz, Cynthia Hahn, Mary and Richard Rouse, and Alison Stones for discussing problems pertaining to this manuscript. For all the help that they have given me, however, in the end I am, of course, responsible for the views expressed in this article.

² P. Edbury and J. Folda, 'Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994), 243–254.

³ BN lat. 5334 = ancien Bibl. Reg., MS 4180, text in two columns of 24 lines each, script is 'gothic textura' by a single scribe. I would like to express my lively gratitude to François Avril for drawing my attention to this codex. During his research on the manuscript collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale for purposes of preparing the various catalogues he has already published and plans to publish, he noted the style of the painted decoration in this codex and kindly pointed it out to me.

⁴ The texts included in this codex are as follows: fol. 1r–94r: [Sulpicii Severi scripta de sancto Martino], fol. 94r–99v: [Miraculum sancti Martini], fol. 99v–113v: Textus narrationis in reversione beati Martini a Burgundia, editus a beato Odone Cluniacensi, fol. 114r–134r: Miracula beati Martini post ejus reversionem sive corporis ipsius depositionem facta, edita ab Heberno, prius abbate Majoris monasterii, post archiepiscopo Turonis civitas, fol. 134v–138r: Miraculum beati Martini Turonensis excerptum de vita sancti Silvani, fol. 138r–144v: Vita vel conversatio sive mors sanctorum VII Dormientium ..., fol. fol. 144v–149r: [Excerpta ex Gregorio Turonensi de obitu sancti Martini], fol. 149r–153r: Omelia Albini magistri de vita sancti Martini episcopi, fol. 153r–155v: Sermo ejusdem [de transitu sancti Martini], fol. 156v–261v: [Libri] Gregorii Turonensis de virtutibus sancti Martini, fol. 261v–263r et fol. 264v–267v: [Excerpta e Gregorio Turonensi de sancto Martino], fol. 267v–272v: [Tractatus S. Odonis Cluniacensis, quod beatus Martinus par dicitur apostolis], fol. 272v–296r: Sermo beati Odonis abbatis Cluniacensis de combustione basilicae beati Martini. See *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum ...in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, ed. Hagiographii Bollandiani, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1890), pp. 255–256. There is also the older *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, pars 3, tomus 4 (Paris, 1744), p. 98, and a brief reference to this MS in P. Gasnault, 'La "Narratio in reversione beati Martini a Burgundia" du Pseudo-Eudes de Cluny. Sources et influences,' *Studia Anselmiana* 46 (1961), 167.

Tours.⁵ In a codex of 298 folios, there is but one historiated initial, the "S" on fol. 1r, which begins the *Vita Sancti Martini* by Sulpicius Severus.⁶ The "S" of "(S)everus desiderio fr[at]r[i] k[arissi]mo" is relatively small in size, 3.45x3.55cm, with long painted vertical bars in the left margin framing the text — 24.55cm top to bottom — but the painted decoration is clearly the work of the Hospitaller Master as is argued below.⁷

The historiated initial (pl. 1a and b) contains a scene of St Martin, dressed as a bishop with mitre and crozier, blessing three *malades*. One man, evidently cured, stands to the right at the rear and holds up his crutches, which he no longer needs. Two other cripples, one in the foreground with terribly malformed legs leaning on a three-legged support with his left hand, and the other seated or crouching behind him, gesture to Martin and await his attention to their plight.

The choice of this miracle scene with St Martin healing three cripples is notable because this event does not appear in the text of the *Vita*.⁸ In fact, the published evidence seems to indicate that St Martin is most often represented dividing his cloak with a beggar at Amiens, the "Charity of St Martin" (*Vita* 3.1–2).⁹ Among his many healing miracles, St Martin is most famous for his cure of a leper at

⁵ St Martin became bishop of Tours c.371 and during his fruitful twenty-five year episcopate, he evangelized Gaul founding monasteries and working many healing miracles. On the life of St Martin and his representation in medieval art, see: 'Martino, vescovo di Tours, santo,' in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 8 (Rome, 1967), cols. 1248–1291, with articles by J. Lahache and M. Liverani; and H. Delehaye, 'St Martin et Sulpice Severe,' *Analecta Bollandiana* 38 (1920), 1–136. A recent book, edited by J.-P. Delville et al., *Martin de Tours: Du légionnaire au Saint-Evêque* (Liège, 1994), will be of interest to readers of this study, but was not available to me.

⁶ The text of the *Vita* is found on fols. 1r–94r. The published editions of the *Vita* are most directly found in PL 20:159–222, in C. Halm's edition of 1866 in CSEL 1:107–137, and in J. Fontaine (ed.), *Sources chrétiennes*, 133 (Paris, 1967), vol. 1, pp. 248–345, the last with a parallel French translation. See also the important recent study of the account of Sulpicius Severus by C. Stancliffe, *St Martin and His Hagiographer* (Oxford, 1983).

⁷ The programme of decoration in this codex is modest but handsomely done. Besides the historiated initial at the beginning of the book, there are 14 medium-sized (3 lines high) red and blue initials with limited calligraphic flourishes at the main text divisions, many small (2 lines high) red or blue initials with very limited calligraphic flourishes, and many capital initials decorated only with a red slash. No miniature panels or large red and blue calligraphic initials were apparently planned for this book.

⁸ Stancliffe, *St Martin*, pp. 363–371, has a useful appendix on Sulpicius Severus's Martinian miracle stories from his complete written *oeuvre*. The healing of 'cripples' as a broad category of activity is confined to one story in the *Vita* where Martin cured a paralysed girl (p. 366).

⁹ As Emile Mâle wrote, '[t]he endless stories told of St Martin's miracles did not keep artists from preferring the most human incident of his life, and eternalizing the heroic gesture of the young Roman soldier who, with his own sword, cut his soldier's coat in half to clothe a poor and naked man' (E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century*, ed. H. Bober, trans. M. Mathews, Bollingen Series, 90.2 (Princeton, 1984), p. 280). The 'Charity' was one of the seven scenes painted on the walls of the cathedral of Tours, described in a poem by Venantius Fortunatus on the occasion of its reconsecration in 590. The frescoes are now lost, but the *tituli* composed for the scenes are preserved in the poem. See H.L. Kessler, 'Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul,' *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1985), 76–77.

one of the entry gates to Paris (*Vita* 19.3), but this is depicted infrequently.¹⁰ Furthermore, as an iconographic choice for the imagery of St Martin, such healing scenes are relatively unusual.¹¹

The lack of a specific reference in the *Vita*, which occupies the first third of the manuscript, makes the choice of this miracle scene for the introductory historiated initial intriguing, presenting Martin, in effect, as a type of Christ the healer.¹² Whereas we know that St Martin accomplished many miracles, as Sulpicius Severus himself tells us (*Vita* 19.5), the fact that Martin's healing of three cripples was deemed appropriate as the sole figural imagery for this *libellus* suggests two things: first, that this selection was intended to be a generic introductory image reflecting the quasi-liturgical nature of the book, and second, that this choice may have been made with certain programmatic considerations in mind by the patron.¹³

Also note that, in this scene, Martin is represented as a bishop with a nimbus, but even after he was raised to episcopal rank he occasionally appeared in selected

¹⁰ Kessler argues however, that in the fresco program for the cathedral of Tours, reconsecrated in 590, the healing of the leper was the central, most important scene. Kessler, 'Pictorial Narrative,' pp. 80–83.

¹¹ The Princeton Index of Christian Art lists over thirty scenes from the life and miracles of St Martin, of which only five are healing scenes and none specifically deals with the healing of cripples. Among the frescoes known to have decorated the 6th-century cathedral of Tours, one of the seven episodes depicted — the miracle of the leper — was a healing scene. On these early images, see, Kessler, 'Pictorial Narrative,' pp. 75–91, and T. Sauvel, 'Les miracles de Saint-Martin, recherches sur les peintures murales de Tours au Ve et au VIe siècle,' *Bulletin Monumental* 114 (1956), 153–179. The best known late thirteenth-century popular source for St Martin, the entry in the *Legenda Aurea*, also does not mention the story of St Martin healing three cripples. On St Martin in the *Legenda Aurea*, see S.L. Reames, 'Saint Martin of Tours in the 'Legenda Aurea' and Before,' *Viator* 12 (1981), 131–164. In later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century cycles of the life and miracles of St Martin done in embroidery, the healing of three cripples does not appear either. See M.B. Freeman, *The St Martin Embroideries* (New York, 1968), pp. 9ff., esp. 23–64, 93–101. See also the altar frontals from the church of St Martin in Liège (14th cent.; M. Calberg, 'L'antependium de l'Eglise Saint-Martin a Liège,' *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, ser. 3. 17, Nos. 1–6 (1945), 22–43), and an Icelandic example (13th cent.; illustrated by Freeman, *Embroideries*, p. 112, fig. 72) now in the Cluny Museum in Paris. On the latter see now, E.E. Gudjonsson, 'Martinus ved Paris' port,' *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 59 (1990), 25–28.

¹² The miraculous cure of three cripples is also not found in the long text of the *Miracula B. Martini* said to be by Hebermus, fols. 114r–134v of this codex. J. Van der Straeten, 'Le recueil de miracles de S. Martin attribué à Herberne,' *Analecta Bollandiana* 95 (1977), 91–100, argues that this text is in fact a compilation done between the mid-12th and the early 13th century to which Herberne's name is attached; as a result he proposes to call the author, the pseudo-Herberne. Two other texts contained in BN lat. 5334 that are specifically devoted to the miracles of St Martin, on fols. 94r–99v and 134v–138r, I have not been able as yet to investigate fully. For the identification of these texts see n. 4 above.

¹³ For a discussion of hagiographic images that is relevant to the nature of this choice as a topos, see C. Hahn, 'Picturing the Text: Narrative in the *Life* of the Saints,' *Art History* 13 (1990), 1–24, esp. 10, 23–24. With regard to the patron, what we see here at a glance is the idea of Martin that the patron wished to convey to the reader — whoever the reader was expected/intended to be.

miracle scenes as a traveler without a halo, or as a simple monk with a halo.¹⁴ Thus his imagery here as a bishop, while it is apparently the most common iconography for this type of scene in the thirteenth century, is also a matter of choice. In this respect it may be that St Martin healing these cripples is also specifically related to the apostolic model of St Peter curing the lame man (Acts 3.1–8), represented at this time in the thirteenth-century Vercelli rotulus.¹⁵ In sum, the specific iconography of this historiated initial is to some extent unusual, but the basic notion of St Martin represented as a bishop with his crozier and blessing was well known in France, and elsewhere in Europe, at this time. It is clear that whatever specific reasons guided the choice of this image to stand at the beginning of this codex, certainly the representation of Martin as saintly healer was meant to provide an appropriate general visual introduction to the texts included within.

Where was this codex in fact produced? Aspects of codicology, palaeography, artistic style and even certain iconographic comparisons allow us to argue that the manuscript was done in Paris.

Codicologically, the vellum, the rulings, the ink and the workshop procedures evident for the execution of the writing and the modest decoration of this codex are entirely consistent with a manuscript done in the Paris region of northern France in the later thirteenth century.¹⁶ On the other hand, there is nothing I can specify about the codicological characteristics that uniquely indicate Paris as the place of origin.

Palaeographically, there seems to have been one scribe. The style of his hand seems to correspond to thirteenth-century French work, what Bischoff calls "gothic textura," or what Michelle Brown calls "littera minuscula gothica textualis rotunda libraria media."¹⁷ Furthermore, the specific characteristics of his

¹⁴ In the thirteenth-century Icelandic example cited in n. 11 above, after he is consecrated bishop, Martin mostly appears in episcopal attire when involved in miracles, but in at least one case he is shown as a simple monk with a halo.

¹⁵ See Kessler, 'Pictorial Narrative,' pp. 87–88, and L. Eleen, 'Acts Illustration in Italy and Byzantium,' *DOP* 31 (1977), 255–278.

¹⁶ If we start with the general observation that this codex was very likely done in the northern part of France, other than Paris Tours is the other obvious possibility given its content. However there is nothing about the physical character of the book that suggests Tours. Furthermore, it appears that the circumstances in Tours during the thirteenth century were far from ideal for commissions of this sort. On these conditions and the cult of St Martin in Tours at this period, see, S. Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca and London, 1991), pp. 261–298, and on the cult of miracles, pp. 270–277.

¹⁷ B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, trans. D.O. Croinin and D. Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 127–130, and M.P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (Toronto, 1990), pp. 88–89. Michelle Brown's adaptation of T.J. Brown's terminology is a response to his plea for greater precision in identifying late medieval book hands, issued in 'Names of Scripts: A Plea to all Medievalists,' *A Palaeographer's View: The Selected Writings of Julian Brown [1972–1984]*, ed. J. Bately et al. (London, 1993), pp. 39–45. In this paper, Julian Brown also names a number of other scholars, such as G.I. Lieftinck and J.P. Gumbert, who have contributed to this discussion.

script compare comfortably with dated manuscripts done in Paris in the period c. 1270–1290.¹⁸

It is however in the analysis of artistic form that more specific ties with Paris can be discerned.¹⁹ The style of the figures in this historiated initial is exactly comparable to work found in several manuscripts of the Hospitaller Master. The standing bishop, Martin, can be compared to St Germain in the *ceansier* of the Abbey of Ste Geneviève, done in Paris in 1276 (pl. 2), as well as to several bishops who appear in the manuscripts of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer*, done between 1284 and 1291 in Acre.²⁰ Our figure of St Martin is clearly identical in basic design and execution to these other examples. Note the common conventions for the mitre, the hair over the forehead and at the sides of the head with the characteristic curls over the ears. Note also the forms for the face with the straight right side/three-quarter-view profile, the "s" curve of the nose, the round eyes, and the tiny mouth. It is, however, not just the conventions, but also the specific way these forms are designed and executed that identifies them as the work of the same artist, albeit at different moments of his career. It is also important to observe that the closest parallel to St Martin among the bishop figures is the St Germain of the *ceansier*.

The *ceansier* continues to be the closest *comparandum* in regard to the *malades*. Maimed and crippled figures are found on fol. 26v where the châsse of Ste Geneviève is carried through the streets of Paris (pl. 3).²¹ Even if the crippled figures on fol. 1r of the *libellus* (pl. 1) are not exactly the same iconographically, in concept they are the same and they have been executed in precisely the same style.

Not every aspect of the painted decoration in the *libellus* finds its closest parallel in the *ceansier* of Parisian origin, however. The design of the initial "S" is comparable to the early work of the Hospitaller Master in Acre. Consider the shapes of the constituent part of the letter, the relationship of the initial to the rectangular enclosure, the colours — dark blue on a blue ground with a gold rectangular border — the internal decoration of the crosspiece of the "S," as well as the painted flourishes in the left margin with gold and coloured extensions and golden balls attached to leafy endings. All of these aspects are

¹⁸ Ch. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* 3 (Paris, 1974), text, p. 455, album, pl. XXXII: BN lat. 5592, dated 1273 (comparable, but script is more squat and compressed); pl. XXXV, Paris: BN lat. 478, dated 1286 (comparable but rounder and fuller script).

¹⁹ For any consideration of gothic style in Parisian book painting of the second half of the thirteenth century, the fundamental work is by R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley, 1977). It is notable that even though Branner knew the *ceansier* — indeed he was the one who drew my attention to it as being related to the work of the Hospitaller Master — he does not associate the *ceansier* (or BN lat. 5334) with any other closely related codices as later examples of the workshop groups he proposes.

²⁰ J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 52–60, pl. 33, and pp. 77–116, pls. 105, 112, 149, 153 and 158.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 36.

closest to the painted initials of our Master in a manuscript of the *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* now in Chantilly, done, if not as elegantly, in Acre in 1282.²² This comparison is noteworthy because by far the majority of the initials associated with painted decoration by the Hospitaller Master are large calligraphically designed works in red and blue ink that feature feathery extensions into the margins. Thus whatever impact a patron may have had on such choices, it is clear that among the ten extant codices of the Hospital Master, he is found doing painted initials only in his early phase.

The important question remains: Did he do the historiated initial in BN lat. 5334 in Paris or in Acre? With reference to the *comparanda* we have cited above, the St Martin *libellus* and its painted decoration relates closely to work by the Hospitaller Master dated 1276, the *centsier* done in Paris, and 1282, the Chantilly Rhetoric codex done in Acre.

On the basis of codicological aspects, it is clear that BN lat. 5334 compares favorably with typical French manuscripts in terms of the soft suedy surface of the vellum of medium thickness and supple pliability.²³ Although I cannot adduce another Parisian codex with exactly the same scribal hand, the quality, handling and adhesive qualities of the ink are also widely found in Parisian work, such as in the dated manuscripts cited above.²⁴ By contrast, BN lat. 5334 does not exhibit the codicological characteristics seen in Acre codices, eg. the shiny vellum with a rather slick surface, the design of the rulings, the rather thick ink and the typical frequent pattern flaking of the ink, nor can this scribe be found working in any of the extant Acre manuscripts.²⁵

In terms of artistic style, the closer comparisons are also found with our Master's work in the *centsier* as indicated above, but along with the formal characteristics, the decisive consideration in the painted decoration is perhaps to be found in the materials and technique. In both the *centsier* and the historiated initial we find comparable pigments being used for the similar palette of colours, especially the rather conservative blues, grays and off-whites. Furthermore, the whites contain comparable amounts of white lead that has oxidized and discoloured as a result. Finally, the use of these colours is encased in strong but thin linear elements, mostly outlines, for the figures, painted letters and marginalia of both manuscripts.²⁶

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 42–52, pls. 30–32.

²³ R. Reed, *The Nature and Making of Parchment* (Leeds, 1975), p. 88, describes what I am calling a 'suedy' surface, as parchment 'having a smooth silky nap.' Whatever we call this surface, it is a refined, very good quality parchment with a soft matte finish that was produced by careful preparation including being painstakingly rubbed with pumice powder. My thanks to David Ganz for drawing my attention to the publication by Ronald Reed.

²⁴ See n. 18 above.

²⁵ Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 37, 167. It is worth observing that the Hospitaller Master worked with a great variety of scribes, a different one in each codex he painted in fact. This indicates conclusively that he specialized in painted decoration and was not also doing scribal work.

²⁶ I would like to thank Nancy Turner, manuscript conservator at the Getty Museum, Malibu, and Abigail Quandt, conservator at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, for their substantial guidance in

The sum total of these considerations leads me to propose that BN lat. 5334 was very probably done in Paris, but the developments we can see in our Master's work there suggest that this historiated initial was done after he finished the *censier* in 1276. For example, despite the closely comparable use of colour in the *censier* and the *libellus*, we do see a focus on more intense colour and an expanding variety of colour — orange-red and purple as well as the others mentioned above — in BN lat. 5334. Secondly, it appears that our Master was experimenting with shading the faces of the figures in the historiated initial, something now mostly obliterated by the discoloration of the white-lead and something seen prominently only in his later work.²⁷ Furthermore, it appears that the style of the figures is proportionally fuller, slightly more rounded in the historiated initial than we see in the four miniatures of the *censier*. In light of the earliest painted decoration by the Hospitaller Master in Acre, in a codex of Bible selections in Old French done about 1280 and the Rhetoric manuscript of 1282,²⁸ these characteristics seem to position the *libellus* between the *censier* and his first work in the East. With these additional considerations in mind, I would suggest that the historiated initial allows us to attribute the codex to the period c. 1276–c. 1280, that is to the period when our Master was working in Paris after he had done the *censier* and before he left for Acre.²⁹

The important research of Mary and Richard Rouse currently in progress on book production in Paris, 1250–1350, will enable us, when fully published, to say more about conditions in Paris when the Hospitaller Master was active there.³⁰ On the basis of their work to date, however, there are some useful points that can be made with regard to this painter. First, it is likely that this Master specialized in painting and was involved in book production in Paris as a cleric in one of the

studying these issues while I was in residence at the Getty Museum. They generously assisted me in becoming more knowledgeable about these issues, both in terms of visual analysis and interpretation, and in regard to basic bibliography in the field.

²⁷ The shading of faces is seen most strikingly in BN fr. 9084, attributed to Acre, ca. 1286. See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pls. 101–117, esp. pl. 113, 116, 117. The shading, consisting of slightly darker tones around the eyes, on the face, forehead and neck, is difficult to see in the reproductions, but is quite evident when examining the miniatures first hand.

²⁸ On these two manuscripts, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 60–75, 42–52, and pls. 37–50, 24–32, respectively.

²⁹ In presenting this argument, it is important to note that the historiated initial in the *libellus* also differs from later related manuscripts done in Paris by artists other than the Hospitaller Master in the same terms as spelled out for the *censier*. See my discussion of four illustrated codices with texts in Old French, BN fr. 19166 and BN fr. 1533, done in Paris between 1276 and 1287, and BL Royal 20.D.II and Tours, Bibl. Mun., MS 951, done in Paris between 1287 and 1295: Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 119–124.

³⁰ See M.A. and R.H. Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250–1350,' *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1991), pp. 259–338. This article originally appeared in 1988. In the meantime they are preparing a more comprehensive study as the publication of their Lyell Lectures, to appear in a two-volume format in 1997.

lower orders.³¹ This is concretely suggested by his work for the Abbey of Ste Geneviève and on the *libellus* of St Martin, as well as by the normal qualifications required for those working in the University book trade. Second, the Hospitaller Master was probably attached to a patron, possibly some cleric of means who was his sponsor. Third, whatever the reason the Hospitaller Master left Paris in the late 1270s, it clearly had nothing to do with the market for books in Paris declining; in fact, the market for book production was growing and expanding strongly.³² It is much more likely that his patron left to go East and he went with him.³³

The facts that our Master painted the miniatures for the censier of the Abbey of Ste Geneviève in 1276 and then very likely did the historiated initial in the *libellus* on St Martin shortly thereafter suggest that this patron was most probably a cleric. The possibility also exists that the *libellus*, a compendium of the most important Latin texts on the life and miracles of St Martin,³⁴ may have been done for someone connected to St Martin des Champs, the most important institution in thirteenth-century Paris dedicated to this saint.³⁵ Indeed, interestingly enough, the abbey of Ste Geneviève and the priory of St Martin des Champs shared certain contacts in this period.³⁶ Precisely why the book was done — what function was it meant to serve³⁷ — and how it eventually entered the royal library remain

³¹ It is probably correct to think of him as solely a bookpainter, but it is unlikely that he was simply 'an independent commercial illuminator,' as I first suggested (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 59). His exact *modus operandi* remains to be clarified.

³² My initial suggestion that the market for books slumped in the 1270s (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 59–60), is not borne out by the facts, according to R. Rouse. H.E. Mayer was entirely correct to question this interpretation in his discussion of my book with me preceding the brief review he published in *DA* 32 (1976), 684.

³³ Although so far the Rouses have not identified a bookpainter who left Paris to go to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, comparable to the Hospitaller Master, they have documented a codex from the third quarter of the 13th century done in Bologna by an English scribe who left Paris to go work in Bologna with two expatriate Parisian artists and one local painter. Thus the phenomenon of painters and scribes leaving Paris to go elsewhere is certainly not unknown at this time. See their article on 'Transient Scribes and Migrant Artists,' in the forthcoming *Festschrift* in honor of Leonard Boyle. My thanks to Nancy Turner, manuscript conservator at the Getty Museum, for drawing my attention to this article.

³⁴ The methodology illustrated by P. Gehrke, *Saints and Scribes: Medieval Hagiography in Its Manuscript Context*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology 126 (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 1–182, offers the possibility of shedding additional light on the idea behind this commission. Further research on this codex is needed.

³⁵ On St Martin des Champs in the 13th century, outside the walls of Philip Augustus, see A. Friedmann, *Paris, ses rues, ses paroisses du moyen âge à la révolution* (Paris, 1959), pp. 279–285, J. Lebeuf, *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1883–90), 1:187–195.

³⁶ Lebeuf, *Histoire*, 1:190.

³⁷ 'A *libellus* is commonly a sort of saint's shrine between the two covers of a book. In addition to the *vita*, it can include ... other cult material. Above all, it is a "little book" dedicated to the cultus of the saints.' Hahn, 'Picturing the Text,' p. 11. F. Wormald, 'Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 35 (1952), 248–266, gives a more detailed description of a *libellus* as a manuscript type. Wormald argues that the *libellus* was primarily

shrouded in mystery.³⁸ Unfortunately we have no documentation on whom the patron may have been.

The Hospitaller Master was obviously commissioned to do small projects in the *libellus* and the slightly earlier *censier*. This may indicate that he was just getting started in Paris between 1276 and c.1280. The imagery of St Martin healing cripples was clearly a choice made to highlight the collection of texts on his miracles in the context of his life; apparently it was a choice made to refer to Martin's efficacy as a healing instrument of the Lord in terms of his wider exploits. The fact that this healing scene does not appear to correspond to any particular event among the many miracles recorded — during his life or after he died, when he is repeatedly reported as appearing in full episcopal garb to work his wonders³⁹ — attests to the strength of his reputation as a miracle-worker and perhaps also to the urban scene of cripples in Paris, then as now.

So far as we know now the hand of the Hospitaller Master does not appear in any manuscripts attributed to Paris at this time other than the *libellus* and the *censier*. All of his other work appears to have been done in Acre.⁴⁰ Despite the modest decoration in the *libellus*, it provides us with additional precious evidence that the Hospitaller Master's origin is correctly to be found in Paris, and that his training and his patron in Paris provided him with the opportunity to travel to the Levant, where the major part of his *oeuvre* was accomplished.

monastic book and its *Blütezeit* was the period 950–1200 (pp. 261, 265–266). See now also L. Ross, *Text, Image, Message: Saints in Medieval Manuscript Illustrations* (Westport, CT, 1994), pp. 41–42. What was the function of a *libellus*? It was a quasi-liturgical book, often located in the treasury, not the library, of a monastery, as a kind of treasure or relic. Along with the life and miracles of a saint, a *libellus* may also contain prayers, masses and musical passages for the Office as well as lists of the dead, or rents to collect. See Wormald's comments, 'Some Illustrated Manuscripts,' pp. 249–250.

³⁸ What does it mean that this book was formerly in the Royal collection: could someone at St Martin des Champs have had this book done for the royal court?

³⁹ Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*, p. 274, n. 43.

⁴⁰ Work by other artists related to the Hospitaller Master appears to have been executed in the Paris region between 1276 and 1295, however. See the references in n. 29 above.

In nomine dñi inapre
 epla beati ad deside
 rium de uita scilicet
 munitur in ale co
 scripta.

Al. Euerus de
 siderio fā
 knō sa
 lūtē. Ego quidē frat
 rmanimis libellum
 quē de uita scī mar
 tini scripseram sedi
 sua promere. et intra
 domesticos parietes so
 hilete decernerā. Qui
 a ut sum uirtuta in
 firmus. iudicia hu
 mana uitabā. neq
 fore arbitror sermo
 inuictior legētibz
 displicere. oūmqz
 reprehensione dig
 nissimus iudicaret.
 qui mariam dilect

4180.

al merito scriptoribz
 reseruandā impudēs
 occupassem. Sz pte
 ti tibi sepius negare
 n̄ potui. Quid enī
 eēt qd n̄ amorū tuo.
 ul' cū decimto mei
 pudoris impendēm?
 Ea tibi fiducia libel
 lum edidi qua nul
 li arte p̄dend reor
 qd id spondesti. Sz
 ueroz ne tu ei iam
 a sic futurū et emissū
 semel n̄ queat reuo
 cari. Qd si accidit ab
 aliquibz. cum legi
 uideris. bona uenia
 id a lectoribz postula
 bis. ut res pot' qm
 uerba perpendant. Et
 equo aīo ferant si av
 res eoz uiciosus for
 sitan sermo p̄tulit.

5334.



Plate 1b. BN lat. 5334, fol. 1r, historiated initial "S" with image of St Martin blessing three *malades*.

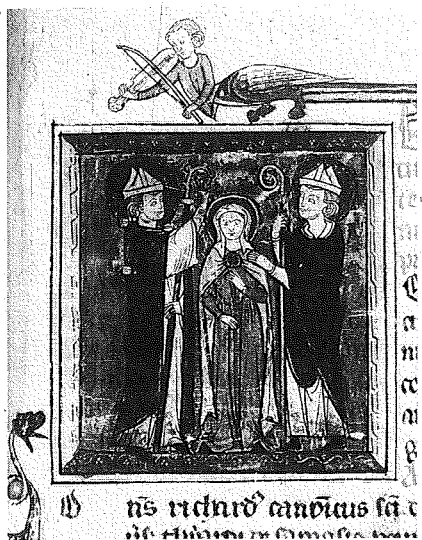


Plate 2. Paris, Archives Nationales, Pièce 1626¹, *censier* of Ste Genevieve, fol. 1r, panel miniature of Genevieve consecrated by Bishops Germain and Loup.



Plate 3. Paris, Archives Nationales, Pièce 1626¹, *censier* of Ste Genevieve, fol. 26v, panel miniature of the *chässe* of Ste Genevieve being carried in procession.

‘Describe the currency of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem’

D. M. Metcalf

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

If students of the history of the crusades were set the above as a question in their university examinations, what would the examiners be looking for? What would constitute a good and sufficient answer? They would certainly expect the candidates to demonstrate a firm grasp of the principles, and to illustrate those principles with a balanced range of examples from both the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The Latin kings struck their own coins, in gold, silver, billon and occasionally copper. The coin-types have been well known for a long time. Very few additions have been made to the range of designs illustrated by Gustave Schlumberger¹ more than a century ago. But it would be an elementary mistake of logic to assume that the currency of the Latin Kingdom necessarily consisted of the coins minted by the Latin kings. The kings of Scotland, for example, minted a regular series of coins, but for long periods these formed only c. 5 per cent of the currency of their kingdom, the bulk of which consisted of imported English coins. Similarly at certain periods there were large quantities of foreign coins in use in the Latin Kingdom: west European coins, coins of Cyprus, of Tripoli, of the Ayyubids. How can we know this? Not from written sources, which simply pass over such information in silence. We can know from two sources of an archaeological character, namely coin hoards, and stray coins accidentally lost one by one and recovered either by chance or in controlled excavations of archaeological sites. The hoard-coins and stray finds in themselves usually tell us little or nothing new. They are of types that are already familiar from the line-drawings in Schlumberger. It is their context that provides new information: their geographical provenance, and (in the case of hoards) their date of concealment. A major aspect of their information is statistical in character. How else could one know that c. 5 per cent of the currency consisted of such and such a type except from the numerical composition of hoards or site-finds, confirmed and averaged from several independent sources?

The framework of the evidence consists, then, of a chronological series of hoards, spread out between c. 1100 and 1291. About two dozen such hoards have been published, well or badly.² By considering them in their chronological order, one can see how the currency from which they were drawn developed or

¹ G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1878), *Supplément* (Paris, 1882).

² All known hoards are summarized in D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 2nd ed. (London, 1995), at pp. 308–322.

changed decade by decade. New coin-types were introduced; other types became worn and dwindled away through wastage. One has, in principle, a series of snap-shots of a continuum. Our twenty-something hoards are not, unfortunately, evenly distributed through the 190 years of Latin rule. For some decades we have an ample sufficiency of evidence, and for others, nothing. That, however, is merely a practical problem, not a question of principle, and one may continue to hope that new discoveries will fill the gaps, and fatten out the information where it is thin. The hoards from the territory of the Latin Kingdom can in practice be supplemented by a few others of vague or unknown provenance, which consist nevertheless of coins of the kingdom.

Another theme runs alongside the first. Were there geographical differences in the currency, between one part of the Latin Kingdom and another; between the commercial cities of the coast and the hinterland? Here, site-finds take the lead from hoards as the controlling category of evidence. That is because a hoard, any hoard, could for all we can say to the contrary have been put together from the currency of one locality, carried by its owner on a journey, and concealed elsewhere. Site-finds on the other hand consist of an accumulation of single coins accidentally lost. Almost by definition they were in use where they were lost. They should approximate to a random sample of what was in use at that site. Randomness is all. Random sampling is the lever with which we can move the world, the reliable measure of the world's flux. Of course, the assemblage of finds from a site may not be perfectly random, even if it is large enough to be statistically useful. It may be more nearly random in some respects than in others. Some of the imponderables may be discounted by comparing one site with another, and by relying on the similarities and differences, rather than on a single set of numbers. In respect of each conclusion separately, one should be willing to give thought to the likely randomness of the site-finds.

There are only three sites from which more than a hundred stray finds have been published: Acre, Caesarea and Pilgrims' Castle (Chastiau Pelerin). Jerusalem itself is a notable absentee from this short list.³

The baronial coinages, among which only those of Beirut and Sidon are other than rare, make up in aggregate a very small percentage of the site-finds from Acre, Caesarea and Pilgrims' Castle. The question is whether the proportions were very different in Beirut or in Sidon itself. Archaeological rescue excavations currently taking place in Beirut will perhaps establish a contrast with what is known from further south in the Latin Kingdom. The local issues, however, belong to a quite brief period, essentially the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Otherwise the royal monopoly was very little infringed.

The grammar of interpretation of hoards and site-finds is quite different. They complement each other very usefully. Hoards are our primary source for the chronological development of the currency, since single losses cannot be dated at all accurately. A coin might have been lost soon after it was minted, or several

³ Ibid., pp. 354-357.

decades later, and one cannot tell, unless for example it is manifestly very worn. A hoard of substantial size, on the other hand, will potentially be dateable to within quite narrow limits, of five or ten years, by the latest coins in it and by the numerical pattern of its age-structure. Site-finds, for their part, offer more secure evidence than hoards in respect of their randomness.

These are the principles of interpretation, and there is no way round them. There are no alternatives, no short cuts. Using them, we can construct from the available evidence what in French is called 'un modèle aléatoire.' It allows us to identify and focus upon the uncertainties and the ambiguities of interpretation — of which, in the Latin Kingdom, there are not a few. The different coinage-metals, for example, were rarely mixed together in hoards. Their owners were in that sense selective in what they hoarded. Thus there are in practice two or three parallel but separate chronological series of hoards, one for gold, one for billon, and so on. It will be obvious that two dozen hoards, if they have to be divided into two or three series with hardly any connections, spread over 190 years, are too few to answer all the detailed questions that may arise. And there are 'blind spots': gold, for example, very rarely occurs among site-finds, because people took good care of their gold coins and did not accidentally lose them; conversely, copper was not hoarded because it was of such low value.

One more general point before we move to particularities. The scale of the currency (which was measured, in the Latin Kingdom, in millions of coins) is a significant aspect of the historian's evidence. It can be estimated, within rather broad limits, by checking how many different dies are represented in a random sample of a given coin-type. This has been done, for example, for the deniers of Baldwin III,⁴ and also for the 'Turris Davit' issue of the late twelfth century.⁵ Die-sampling is independent of the hoard or site-find context of the coins. Any specimens will serve the purpose, provided they are a random sample in respect of die-duplication, i.e. they should not all be from a single hoard. Estimates of this kind (which are themselves sometimes subject to rather wide margins of statistical uncertainty) measure the numbers of dies used. The average output of a die varied from type to type and is conjectural. The method cannot measure wastage from the currency and it certainly cannot tell us what became of the coins after they were put into circulation. Thus, if a pair of dies was used to strike 10,000 coins, 9,000 of them might have remained in Acre while 1,000 were dispersed into the hinterland, or vice versa. A hoard, or an assemblage of site-finds is a tiny sample of the millions of coins that were produced and no conclusions whatever should be drawn from its size, as regards the size of the local or regional currency.

We turn now to detail: our direct knowledge of the currency begins, in a sense, only in the 1140s or thereabouts, when Baldwin III initiated a major reform of the

⁴ Ibid., p. 56f.

⁵ C. J. Sabine, 'The Crusader "Turris Davit" Coinage: Addendum,' *Numismatic Chronicle* 141 (1981), 156–158.

billon (and perhaps also of the gold). There are no hoards which can be dated with absolute security before that, other than one which was fished up out of the sea in the nets of fishermen from Haifa. The 'hoard from the sea,' dated by a few of the rare Antiochene deniers of Raymond of Poitiers (1136–49), consists otherwise of imported billon coins of Lucca and of Valence.⁶ These two kinds, which are among the seven named by Raymond of Aguilers as having been in use in the army of the First Crusade of which he was a member, are conspicuously plentiful among the stray finds, e.g. at Acre and Caesarea. The statistics of random losses encourage us to think that if they are as plentiful as, for example, the reformed deniers of Baldwin III, the currency from which they were lost will have been of roughly the same size. More exactly, one would expect that the respective totals of stray losses would be a function of the quantities in use, multiplied by the length of time they were in use. What the numbers suggest is that there must have been a quite lengthy period when the coins of Lucca and Valence were plentiful; and that certainly was not the case after Baldwin's reform in the 1140s, as hoard-evidence shows us. So presumably we can bridge the gap between Raymond of Aguilers and the 'hoard from the sea' by postulating a period of up to four decades when coins of Lucca and Valence were the dominant petty currency of the kingdom, even though we have no sequence of provenanced hoards to prove it step by step. (There is quite a good sequence of hoards of coins of Lucca and Valence from outside the Latin Kingdom, or without any provenance). Presumably Baldwin called in all such foreign coins and recycled the bullion to make his new deniers. But within the period *c.* 1100–*c.* 1145 we cannot tell how soon or how rapidly the imported currency built up to its maximum size: the statistics of the site-finds give us at best an average for these decades.

There is, indeed, only one recorded hoard of Baldwin deniers. It was found the best part of a hundred years ago and lay for a long time in the cartons of a Paris coin-dealer. Its provenance is lost and it is known simply as the 'Bourgey' hoard, from his name. All but three of the 855 coins in it are Baldwin deniers, which suggests an extremely thorough recoinage. The strays are of Lucca, Valence and Vienne. A few, naturally enough, had escaped the reminting process. Of course, we cannot be absolutely certain that just one hoard reflects the composition of the currency. Its owner might have selectively hoarded the new deniers, even though coins of Lucca and Valence remained plentiful in circulation. It would be a relief to have confirmation (or otherwise) on this point from two or three new hoards. Even if they were much smaller than the 'Bourgey' hoard, they would serve for that purpose. On the hypothesis (which one does not actually take very seriously) that the 'Bourgey' hoard was selective, one would need to reconsider the arithmetic of comparative numbers of Baldwin's coins and those of Lucca and Valence in site-finds, and their probable significance.

⁶ D.M. Metcalf, 'A Twelfth-Century Hoard from the Sea Dated by Coins of Raymond of Poitiers,' *Israel Numismatic Journal* 8 (1984–85), 77–83.

The Baldwin deniers and oboles, with their distinctive design of the Tower of David (the Citadel of crusader Jerusalem) have been intensively studied from the 'Bourgey' hoard. Die-estimation suggests that the deniers were minted from upwards of *c.* 1,100 dies, and the oboles correspondingly from *c.* 40 dies. If the average output of the dies was 10,000 coins, a reasonable guess, we are looking at 11 or 12 million billon coins.

It is virtually certain that they were recycled and very thoroughly replaced by a new design under King Amalric, perhaps *c.* 1169. Thus the second phase of the billon currency of the Latin Kingdom had lasted some twenty or twenty-five years. The phase is documented by only one hoard (the 'Bourgey' hoard), but by considerable quantities of site-finds, especially from Acre and Caesarea. A stylistic analysis of the hoard shows two distinct styles (of the same formal design) which would seem to be the output of two different mints. The arguments which support that claim come from numerical comparisons of the relative plentifulness of the two varieties at Acre and Caesarea (not much different) and from their survival-rates in the 'Bourgey' hoard, calculated by dividing the numbers of each kind by the estimated numbers of dies from which they were struck (coins per die). Again, there is not much difference. If one style had succeeded the other, one might have expected some contrast in the survival-rates and also in the patterns of multiple specimens sharing the same die.

Amalric's deniers and oboles show as their reverse design the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, with its conical roof and oculus. They are documented by several small but well recorded hoards, from Tell Jemmeh, from 'Athlit (Pilgrims' Castle), from the Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar) and from Jerusalem in the Citadel area. All these are from excavations and are of guaranteed integrity. The larger 'YMCA' hoard from Jerusalem is less securely attested. There are also good numbers of site-finds from the usual sites. The rash of hoards is, almost certainly, not because there was more money about, nor because the monetary sector of the economy was reaching a wider social range of people outside the main commercial centres, but simply because of the defeats and losses inflicted by Saladin. Here is where the different grammar of interpretation of hoards and site-finds can play a useful part. Stray losses should not, in principle, be increased by the insecurity: perhaps if anything the opposite.

What became of the currency in the years following the defeat at Hattin? When territory was lost, was part of the stock of currency lost too, or was there a monetary retreat into the surviving strongholds? Was there, any longer, a national currency, or were there rather several 'islands' of currency, which were to some extent independent as regards what became of them? At this point, the 'modèle aléatoire' is at its least useful: it probably gives such a poor fit to the facts that its explanatory value is small.

Certainly, there are signs of monetary strain. If Jerusalem was a mint-town for Baldwin and Amalric, it evidently ceased to be so at this time. Conrad of

Montferrat struck coins at a (temporary?) mint in Tyre.⁷ The copper pougeois (probably tarified as oboles) of Henry, count of Champagne, were an expedient that had no sequel.

On the other hand the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth witnessed at least one innovation in the provision of coinage which seems to imply a determination to improve the system, namely the drachma, a good silver coin with a much higher intrinsic value than the denier. The early drachmas might elsewhere be seen as a response (even if a premature response) to the growing wealth of the merchant classes. In the Latin Kingdom, however, they may have a special and essentially non-commercial explanation, as coins with a similar intrinsic value to the dirham, and intended for the use of pilgrims to shrines no longer in Christian hands.⁸ The 'drachmas of Acre' (*dragma Acconensis*) show as their design the Holy Sepulchre — which is, at least, intriguing. They are very scarce today, and it is more than doubtful whether they were circulated in significant numbers.

Of more general significance is the fact that the currency suffered a sea-change from about the time of the Third Crusade until perhaps c.1220. There was evidently a break-down in the official insistence that incoming foreign billon should be recoined, for we see, among the site-finds, considerable numbers of late-twelfth and early-thirteenth century French and other coins, which seem to have been tolerated in circulation and to have been accidentally lost. These foreign coins, which are so plentiful at Caesarea and especially Acre, are absent at Pilgrims' Castle with the exception of Burgundian money, the *digenois*, which is found there. That suggests that except for *digenois* the inflows had ceased by c.1220. French feudal coinage continued to arrive and is seen in the hoards of the 1220s and 1230s, but perhaps by then control had been reimposed, and the foreign money was again being compulsorily reminted.

Through all these changes and chances, Amalric's coin-type survived. It became (in numismatic terminology) an 'immobilized type,' continued through subsequent reigns without any alteration in the legend to up-date the royal name. That was a common enough habit in western Europe, and especially in France, at the same time. Although the design of the deniers was unchanged they did however suffer progressive weight-reduction. The original issues, in the 1170s, had an average weight of about 0.95 of a gramme. The YMCA hoard reveals the beginnings of a second stage, when the weight fell to c.0.8g. The reduction provoked clipping of the earlier coins. Then we see, in some large foreign hoards (e.g. from Tripoli and from Kessab near Antioch) a standard of c.0.5g (again with clipping of older issues) in the 1220s. At Pilgrims' Castle, built only in 1218, most of the finds are lighter still, at about a third of a gramme. Miserable scraps of this kind had previously been identified at Acre as oboles, but it now looks more likely that they are the final stage in the decline of the deniers and

⁷ Metcalf, *Coinage of the Latin East*, at p. 47.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 73f.

represent the currency of Acre in the 1230s, for half-gramme specimens are virtually absent at Pilgrims' Castle.⁹ The third phase of the billon currency is thus long and complicated. It can conveniently be divided into an early stage, when the coins were of full weight and careful workmanship, and the later stages of decline, post-Saladin. The immobilized *Amalricus* deniers continue in use and, apparently, in manufacture through fluctuations in the fortunes and indeed in the territorial extent of the Latin Kingdom and it is not very clear how the idea of a continuum of currency, glimpsed here and there through the hoards, might apply.

The reputation of the billon denier of the Latin Kingdom was virtually bankrupt, but it was not because of lack of the necessary bullion. From c. 1217 (and there are reasons to think that the dating is quite precise) the mint of Acre began to strike substantial quantities of drachmas. These were an imitative, and might even be described as a deceptive coin-type, closely imitating Islamic dirhams. They were of excellent silver, unlike the deniers, which were only about a quarter fine. The half-gramme deniers were intrinsically worth only about a thirtieth of a silver drachma. The insertion of the larger denomination into the system, somewhere between the gold bezant and the billon denier, effectively down-graded the latter.

Until this time there had been little penetration of the currency of the Latin Kingdom by the coinage of Tripoli and even less by that of Antioch. The monetary affairs of the kingdom now became less self-contained. The new-style deniers of Tripoli are plentiful, from the 1230s onwards, at Pilgrims' Castle. Significant quantities of Cypriot deniers, and also of the deniers minted at Damietta, entered circulation on the mainland. The latter are from 1219–21. Although the Cypriot series begins earlier, during Guy's lordship of the island, their influx may also have been mainly from c. 1220 onwards. The deniers of Cyprus and Damietta are on large, well-rounded flans and they are of good weight. They are vastly superior in appearance to the miserable scraps that the *Amalricus* coins had become — clipped, worn and unreliable. The Cypriot issues represent a new initiative and those of Damietta seem to conform with them. The *Amalricus* coinage lingered on, perhaps mainly as a municipal currency in the coastal cities. From the point of view of monetary confidence, it had become irrelevant. In the final half-century of the Latin Kingdom, the minting of billon virtually ceased.

The Pilgrims' Castle excavations revealed one previously quite unsuspected feature of the thirteenth-century petty currency, namely that Ayyubid copper coins circulated in the Latin Kingdom. Most were from Damascus and Aleppo, and not from Egypt. Their loss is datable by a clear archaeological context to before 1265. How they were tariffed against silver, and indeed why they were tolerated, are mysteries. Presumably in a chaotic situation they met an everyday need for small change, and they did not threaten the stability of the system, by now based essentially on gold, in any way.

⁹ D.M. Metcalf, A. Berman, and R. Kool, 'Crusader Coins from the Excavations of Pilgrims' Castle,' *Atiqot* (forthcoming).

That is almost as much as it is necessary to say about the petty currency, which however included some scarce varieties that are difficult to date. On the topic of geographical differences within the Latin Kingdom, the city of Jerusalem remains intriguing. Although a great many crusader coins have been bought and sold in the Old City, their provenance is usually unknown or unreported. Material from controlled excavations is surprisingly scanty. C.N. Johns's archaeological investigations in the Citadel area yielded over five thousand coins, but only about 25 of them were stray finds of crusader issues. There is therefore, in effect, no statistical evidence from which to judge whether one of the two mints proposed for the Baldwin deniers (one specimen found) was in Jerusalem itself. Jerusalem was the capital and one should expect a mint there. Commercial activity, on the other hand, was heavily concentrated in the ports, and the reminting of foreign silver would most conveniently have been overseen there. Acre was certainly the main mint-place of the kingdom in the mid-thirteenth century, but that was after the loss of Jerusalem. The Citadel excavations yielded two separate specimens of the rare *Sancta Aerea* issue, which doubtless was minted in Jerusalem.

The much-discussed '*Moneta Regis*' coinage, which has for long been regarded as dating from 1189 or later, has recently turned up in a little hoard at Bet She'an, in association with or in close proximity with various coins of the types mentioned by Raymond of Aguilers.¹⁰ That suggests, although the case is not quite clear-cut, that the '*Moneta Regis*' type is after all early and perhaps belongs in the vacant space c. 1100–c. 1140. If it is from before 1189, one cannot envisage its being later than the reform which introduced the Baldwin deniers. The design of a double-barred cross was the logo of the bishops of Acre; and the string of northerly provenances for the type leaves no room for doubt that it was minted at Acre.

We turn now to the currency of gold bezants, which coexisted with the more plentiful billon. Again the story is to be told in phases, some of which are better documented by the hoard-evidence than others. From within the frontiers of the Latin Kingdom we have two small hoards from excavations, namely Emmaus el-Qubeibeh 1942 and Bethlehem 1932, and various hoards which came onto the market with provenances attaching to them, belief in which sometimes requires a measure of faith. There is a hoard said to have been found in a small village near Tyre in 1965 and another from Mount Carmel in 1895, as well as several others from outside the territory of the Latin Kingdom.¹¹

All the bezants, whatever their provenance, can usefully be studied by non-destructive scientific analysis to measure their alloy. It emerges, most interestingly, that there is one broad category of bezants that are on an alloy standard very close to 80 per cent gold, or four-fifths, and another broad category, embracing

¹⁰ A. Berman, 'The Numismatic Finds from the Citadel [of Beth She'an],' *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 103 (1995), 41–42 (in Hebrew).

¹¹ D.M. Metcalf, 'On the Character of Crusader Gold Bezants as the Currencies of Territorial States,' *Yarmouk Numismatics* 6 (1994), 9–19.

more than one type, on a standard close to two-thirds gold. These are a little lighter over-all. The two-thirds standard was still in force in the 1250s, when the coins are dated. Before that, the dates they bear are fictitious. The regularity of alloy proves that this debasement certainly was not because of technological incompetence in the mints. Nor was there any intention to deceive users into thinking that the coins were dinars of pure gold, and thereby to subvert the neighbouring economies. The hoards allow us to imagine — and that form of words is carefully chosen — that a phase during which the bezants were on a carefully-maintained four-fifths alloy standard came to an end, with a rash of hoards, concealed in adversity and never recovered, at about the time of Saladin's conquests. The phase perhaps began in the 1140s, that is to say, Baldwin III perhaps undertook the reform of both gold and billon. It is a plausible scheme, but no support for it has yet emerged from numismatic or archaeological evidence. Documentary mentions of 'new bezants' in commercial contracts, which look as if they might help to pin-point the date of a reform, are rather numerous and confusing. At least the relative chronology is secure.

Before the four-fifths standard was introduced, there was an earlier phase (from the first forty years or more of the Latin kingdom?) during which the bezants, of an identifiable variety (BY 26), were between 95 and 85 per cent gold. Few of these have survived, but that may well be because they were efficiently reminted at the time of the reform.

Much detailed numismatic work remains to be done on the four-fifths gold bezants. They vary in minor ways from one hoard to another,¹² and it is clear that over a period they were minted on a considerable scale. An exact classification of them remains elusive. The task of defining the natural phases of the currency is, after all, only the first step, to establish some perspectives. Within each phase, a detailed monetary history waits to be written.

The internal chronology of the two-thirds gold bezants is marginally clearer, as the stylistic development, confirmed by hoard-evidence, is more obvious. So it should be, if the same basic design was in production for fifty or sixty years.

The re-modelled bezants (and drachmas) designed to mollify the papal legate Eudes of Châteauroux are relatively straightforward. In their intrinsic value and in commercial use they were indistinguishable from what had gone before. The same is true of the rare *Agnus Dei* bezants, introduced possibly after 1266.

It is one of the pleasures of numismatics that one may always hope that new primary source material will gradually be added to the existing stock, either by the chance discovery of new hoards or by the site-finds from archaeological excavations. Not only do they enlarge the body of information: they often enable students to re-evaluate old data, for example by dating known hoards more precisely. Thus the Pilgrims' Castle site-finds, which have recently been published, advance our understanding of the Tripoli and Kessab hoards from the 1930s. And the current excavations of Chastellet, which functioned as a crusader

¹² See the notes in Metcalf, *Coinage of the Latin East*, at pp. 312f. and 315–317.

castle for only eleven months (1178–79) before it was sacked and abandoned, are yielding coin finds (in gold as well as billon) which define a moment in the currency very precisely.¹³

One may legitimately look forward to being able to describe the currency of the Latin Kingdom with a sharper focus, as archaeological exploration gathers momentum and as medieval archaeology generally accumulates more experience. The outlines, in terms of successive phases, are already clear, but the chronology remains vague and sometimes speculative.

The Latin kings ruled over a territorial state which, for much of the period c. 1100–1291, had an officially controlled currency, quite distinct from those of, for example, Tripoli or Antioch. A quantified account of that currency is the factual basis for a descriptive monetary history, which will serve to draw attention to aspects of general historical interest, about which the written sources are too often silent or almost silent, namely inflows of money from the West, eg. cash carried by pilgrims; wealth creation by merchant communities; the range of productive activities by which the wealth accrued; and the ways in which it was taxed and its benefits distributed.

With some such answer to the question that was set, the examiners would have to be reasonably satisfied, even if they felt that the topic was one where much research remained to be undertaken.

¹³ Work in progress by Dr R. Ellenblum and Dr A. Boas.

The Problem of Byzantium and the Mediterranean World, c. 1050–c. 1400

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The 'problem' of Byzantium is, of course, that of the decay and fall of the Empire from the eleventh to fifteenth centuries. This is not a single problem but rather a series of connected problems, which have been addressed by many great scholars, and to which there is no single historical solution. However, it is possible to approach them from a perspective which is somewhat different to those normally encountered: that of an analysis of the Byzantine economy and the socio-political structures of the Empire within those of the wider Mediterranean world.¹

By and large, five models have been used in the search for explanations of the decline and fall of the Empire: first, the result of critical military disaster — Manzikert, Myriokephalon, the sack of Constantinople in 1204, Bapheus, etc.; secondly, the influence of a loss of centralized autocracy and the growth of quasi-'feudal,' provincial semi-autonomies in the hands of archons and aristocratic dynasts; thirdly, the resurgence of Slavic and Turkish power in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, against which there may ultimately have been no defence; fourthly, a now virtually discredited model, the debilitating influence of western penetration of the Byzantine economy, stunting the development of Byzantine industry and commerce; and last, a model now finding some acceptance, internal blockages to social and economic development presented by the traditional values of the Byzantine establishment.

All of these models are unconvincing to a greater or lesser degree. First, none of the military disasters were by any means inevitable, nor did they necessarily have long-term implications. They are now regarded more accurately as symptoms rather than causes. Secondly, it is highly arguable whether the so-called 'feudalization' of the Empire detracted from its ability to survive. Regionalization of power in the Peloponnesos, Epiros and Nicaea provided a source of political and military strength where it was most needed. Thirdly, there is no reason to suppose that in no circumstances might Slavic and Turkish power have been contained. In fact the Serbs and Bulgarians were contained. The Ottomans had obscure origins and, had they been eliminated early, either by the Byzantines themselves or by other Turks, the Turkish *ghazi* impulse might

¹ For reasons of intellectual shorthand, "Byzantium" and 'the Empire' refer to all the lands of the Empire as it was at the death of Manuel I Komnenos, whether or not they were later lost to other powers at various times. By 'Mediterranean world' the Black Sea region is included also.

also have been contained, as it was in Mentesh and Aydin. Fourthly, both the size of western investment in the Empire and its effects on Byzantine industry and commerce before the thirteenth century have been grossly overestimated.² And last, if internal blockages to social and economic development did exist in Byzantine value systems, they need to be examined with reference to those of the wider Mediterranean world. Cultural values are notoriously unreliable as historical determinants and must be examined with reference to those of other societies and to other factors.

All five models are remarkably insular. They either search for an external scapegoat or else they focus upon the internal structures of the Empire to the exclusion of external perspectives. In general, Byzantinists have been notoriously internalized in the study of their subject, except in recent years for Michael Hendy, Nicolas Oikonomides, and Angeliki Laiou.³ Let me quote Hendy:

Although it will not appeal to the parochialism of Byzantinists, there are nevertheless strong resemblances between the general course of eastern and western economic development: the crucial distinction is that between ca. 1080 and 1180, the further economic and social development of the Byzantine mercantile classes was politically blocked, and that by the time this blockage was removed, it was too late to recover lost ground.⁴

'Crucial distinctions', 'political blockages', and 'too late' aside, Hendy is conscious of the fact that Byzantium and its economy functioned within the broader context of a Mediterranean world. He refers only to the West and does not consider the Muslim world, although he might well have done so.

Economically, the Byzantine Empire was an integral part of the Mediterranean world. Its economy was affected by developments elsewhere and vice versa. Developments comparable to those found in other parts of the Mediterranean world in its economy, social structures, demographic patterns and political

² See M. Hendy, "Byzantium, 1081-1204": An Economic Reappraisal,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 20 (1970), 31-52; Idem, "Byzantium, 1081-1204": The Economy Revisited, Twenty Years On,' in his *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium* (Northampton, 1989), III; Idem, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 590-602; A. R. Lewis, 'The Economic and Social Development of the Balkan Peninsula during Comneni Times, AD 1081-1185,' in *Actes du II Congrès international des études du sud-est européen* (Athens, 1972), pp. 407-415.

³ A. E. Laiou [-Thomadakis], 'Observations on the Results of the Fourth Crusade: Greeks and Latins in Port and Market,' *Medievalia et humanistica* 12 (1984), 47-60; idem, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period: A Study of Arrested Development,' *Viator* 4 (1973), 131-151; idem, 'The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System: Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries,' *DOP* 34-35 (1980-81), 177-222; idem, 'The Greek Merchant of the Palaeologan Period: A Collective Portrait,' *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 57 (1982), 96-124; N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)* (Montreal, 1979); idem, 'Byzantium and the Western Powers in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries,' in J. D. Howard-Johnston (ed.), *Byzantium and the West c. 850-c. 1200: Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 30th March-1st April 1984* (Amsterdam, 1988), 319-332.

⁴ Hendy, *Studies*, p. 590, n. 170.

structures can be found within the Empire and these cast much light on the degrees to which the Empire was attuned to change elsewhere.

Demographic growth in the Empire between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries can be clearly documented. For example, the monastery of Iviron on Mt Athos had 246 *παρόικοι* on its estates in 1047, 294 by the early twelfth century, and 460 by the early fourteenth, even though the size of its estates had not increased.⁵ Cultivated lands across the Empire were extended, slaves were settled on their own plots and individuals and collectives purchased kismatic land from the state: land which had reverted to it in earlier times for lack of cultivators.⁶ Population growth was not uniform everywhere and was not invariably continuous. In fact it proceeded by fits and starts, was geographically uneven and was affected by political events. Nevertheless that quickening of population growth which gripped the Latin and Muslim lands of the Mediterranean world from the eleventh century was part of the Byzantine experience also. The economic impact of this growth is much debated but at least it is clear that there were close linkages between it and the economic expansion of the High Middle Ages.

Archaeological research in particular has provided sound evidence for urban expansion accompanied by industrial development around the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara from the eleventh century. Excavations at Corinth and Athens have shown that the *ἀγοραί* became covered with new buildings.⁷ Other towns are also known to have flourished: Thebes, Monemvasia, Abydos, Almiros, Thessalonika, Negropont/Khalkis, Ephesos, Sardis and many others.⁸ The *Geography* of al-Idrisi, the *Travels* of Benjamin of Tudela and pilgrimage accounts also refer to flourishing towns around the Aegean. From the thirteenth century this urban expansion seems to have extended into the central Balkans to towns such as Avlona, Ioannina and Ljubljana.⁹ Towns became increasingly 'medieval' in character: congested, with numerous but less grandiose buildings suggesting

⁵ A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 49–50.

⁶ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 47–67, 245–255; Hendy, "Byzantium, 1081–1204": The Economy Revisited,' pp. 10–12; A. P. Kazhdan and A. W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1985), p. 26.

⁷ R. L. Scranton, *Corinth XVI: Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Princeton, 1957); Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, p. 218; C. Bouras, 'City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture,' *XVI Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, in Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31 (1981), 611–653; M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, II: Coins from the Roman through the Venetian period* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 4–5; H.A. Thompson, 'Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1956,' *Hesperia* 26 (1957), 99–107.

⁸ C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge, 1979); idem, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); Bouras, 'City and village'; E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'empire Byzantin VIIIe-XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1988), pp. 125–156, 221–222.

⁹ V. Hrochova, 'Le commerce vénitien et les changements dans l'importance des centres de commerce en Grèce du 13e au 15e siècles,' *Studi veneziani* 9 (1967), 3–34; D. Kovačević-Kojic, 'Le développement économique des agglomérations urbaines sur le territoire actuel de la Yougoslavie du XIIIe au XVe siècle,' in *Actes du IIe Congrès international des études du sud-est européen* (Athens, 1972), pp. 167–176.

transitions from administrative to commercial and industrial centres. At times, political vicissitudes caused urban contraction, obviously at Constantinople between 1204 and 1261, but in general all the evidence suggests that the Empire was subject to the same forces which contemporaneously were inducing the growth of towns in both the West and the Muslim world under the dual influences of demographic growth and increased commercial circulation.

The older view that Byzantine commerce stagnated from the eleventh century is now, thankfully, dead.¹⁰ The father of Michael V Kalaphates, emperor in the years 1041–42, had made a fortune earlier in the century as a caulker according to Michael Psellos. This was precisely at the time when a final transition was being made from shell to skeleton ship construction and caulking had therefore become a skilled and highly valued craft. Michael's father had made his fortune in a period of quickening maritime commerce and ship construction. Around 1148 a great Constantinopolitan merchant called Chrysiobasilios owned an entire quay in the capital with all its houses and workshops.¹¹ Byzantine merchants appear in the records of the Cairo Geniza, frequented crusader Acre according to Ibn al-Athir, and were found as far afield as Barcelona and Montpellier according to Benjamin of Tudela.¹² Between 1313 and 1319 a certain Atheneas Sophonias, *homo imperatoris*, was in Alexandria on business and in 1349 ambassador Manuel Sergopoulos negotiated with the sultan access to Egypt for Byzantine merchants. In 1384 Manuel Kabasilas sailed to Genoa with a cargo of grain owned by Emperor John VII Palaeologos and, in the early fifteenth century, a Byzantine merchant called Manuel Zaliotus was trading in grain between Sicily and Dubrovnik. Laiou has identified by name some 239 Byzantines engaged in commerce in the Palaeologan period.¹³ Although no one would claim that Byzantine maritime commerce grew at the same rate as did that of the West, even if allowance is made for the exiguous and largely anecdotal nature of the Byzantine sources, its development was certainly of the same ilk as that of the rest of the Mediterranean world, even if blocked from full flowering by the Empire's political vicissitudes or, perhaps, by certain social obstacles to progress.

At the same time, rural regions of the Empire began to produce a significant agricultural surplus which became drawn into a Mediterranean-wide trade in foodstuffs. Much of this found its way into the systems which provisioned the

¹⁰ See in particular Laiou, 'Byzantine economy'; idem, 'Observations'; idem, 'Greek Merchant'; J. H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean 649–1571* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 135–164; G. Makris, *Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Schifffahrt* (Genoa, 1988).

¹¹ Hendy, "'Byzantium, 1081–1204": The Economy Revisited,' p. 22.

¹² S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 1: *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 45, 328; Ibn al-Athir in RHC Or 1:689; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M. N. Adler (London, 1907), pp. 2, 3. [Adler's translation of the passages in question is inadequate; for an accurate English rendition see *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. A. Asher (London, 1840), pp. 31, 33 of the translation].

¹³ Laiou, 'Greek Merchant.'

cities of the Empire. Here the evidence points to Constantinople and Thessalonika in particular. But, from the twelfth century, an increasing amount was also exported to the West, especially to Genoa and Venice. This trade encompassed not only grain but also olive oil, wine and other commodities. Byzantine aristocrats and monasteries disposing of surplus product from their estates were instrumental in the process. For example, Isaac Komnenos, brother of John II, had tax exemptions for twelve boats and 4,000 *modioi* of grain in the twelfth century and the monastery of Lavra on Mt. Athos had exemptions for seven boats and 16,000 *modioi* until 1102, and for four boats, each of 1,500 *modioi*, after that.¹⁴ Venetians bought olive oil in the Peloponnesos and grain at Almiros in Thessaly for transport to Constantinople. In 1344 Dubrovnik was buying grain from the aristocrat Arsenios Tzambalac in Macedonia.¹⁵ Access to grain supplies and its price were subjects of some of the most important clauses in treaties between Venice and the Empire in the Palaeologan period. It is clear that Byzantium was subject to the same forces which, throughout the Mediterranean world, induced some rural regions to become sources of agricultural commodities for urbanized regions elsewhere. These were processes which affected not only the Empire but also regions of the West, for example South Italy and Sicily, and parts of the Muslim world. From the twelfth century onwards there was a marked expansion of the commercial market as the dominant feature of the Byzantine economy and a consequent erosion of state control of the economy.¹⁶

The extent to which these processes corresponded to monetarization of the economy is much debated. Michael Hendy has insisted that the Empire minted coins essentially to provide a mechanism to convert production of goods into commodities which could be exchanged for money which was needed to pay for those goods and services which the state could only pay for in cash.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it seems incontrovertible that the currency reforms of Alexios I Komnenos, which replaced a coinage system with only limited and high-value denominations by one with a wider range of denominations including some very low-value ones, provided a mechanism for commercial exchanges which was much more attuned to such exchanges on a widely dispersed range. The coincidence between this and the known dimensions of rapidly expanding economic exchange at the time is too striking to be accidental. From the Komnenoi period onwards, large numbers of billon and copper trakhy, tetarteron and half-tetarteron coins have been found on urban archaeological sites, reflecting developing economic relationships between urban communities, rural surrounds and economic influences further afield.

In the West, technological innovation and utilization were closely linked to economic development and social formation, perhaps even being causally

¹⁴ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 238–241.

¹⁵ Laiou, 'Byzantine Economy,' p. 183.

¹⁶ M. Angold, 'The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine City,' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985), 1–37; here p. 27.

¹⁷ Hendy, *Studies*, p. 602.

formative. Byzantine society is not normally considered to have been technologically innovative and Byzantinists have discounted technological innovation and utilization as formative factors in Byzantine social and economic development.¹⁸ However, this assumption may be questioned. To take three examples: first, the spread of water mills, whose importance in the West has been so much emphasized.¹⁹ By the twelfth century these had become common throughout the Empire and were increasing in number.²⁰ It is true that they were mostly of the simpler horizontal-wheel type rather than the more complex vertical type, either undershot or overshot, which spread in the West. However, this was not a mark of Byzantine technological backwardness but rather of what was most suited to geographical and social conditions. The horizontal-wheel mill was well suited to the small, fast streams of the Balkans. It was also much cheaper to build and to maintain and thus was more suited to the Byzantine social situation, where mills were built and operated by peasant communities rather than by landlords, as was usually the case in the West. The most sophisticated technology is not always the most efficient socially and economically. A similar comment can be made of the Byzantine retention of the Roman scratch plough, *aratrum*, in preference to the north-European mouldboard plough, *carruca*. The former was simply more suited to the light, stony soils of the Empire. A third example: shipping. On the basis of historical, iconographic and archaeological evidence, it can be shown that Byzantine shipping developed in parallel to that of the West at least until the thirteenth century.²¹ From that point on the iconographic evidence becomes more difficult to interpret because we can rarely be confident that a ship depicted was Byzantine rather than western. Yet late medieval graffiti from Athens, Trebizond and the Aegean islands, as well as some church paintings and manuscript miniatures certainly show ships of advanced cog and carrack types.²² There is nothing to suggest that Byzantine maritime technology fell behind that of the West in any way such as to prevent Byzantines from making voyages of which western ships were capable. Nor is there any evidence that superior performance characteristics of western ships gave western merchants, owners and shipmasters any decisive economic advantage.

In the early Middle Ages the Empire had had a more highly developed division of labour than the West. The notorious *Book of the Prefect*, whose purpose

¹⁸ See Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, p. 50; Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 122–135; M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204: A Political History* (London, 1984), p. 254.

¹⁹ See M. Bloch, 'The Advent and Triumph of the Watermill,' in his *Land and Work in Medieval Europe*, trans. J.E. Anderson (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 136–168.

²⁰ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 128–134.

²¹ Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, pp. 25–28, 44–45, 46–50.

²² A. Bryer, 'Shipping in the Empire of Trebizond,' *Mariner's Mirror* 52 (1966), 3–12; M. Goudas, 'Μεσλιωνικά καράγματα πλοίων ἐπὶ τοῦ Θησαίου,' *Byzantis* 2 (1910), 329–357; O. F. A. Meinardus, 'Medieval Navigation according to Akidographemata in Byzantine Churches and Monasteries,' *Χριστιανικὴ Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρεία*, Περ. Δ' 6 (1970–72), 29–52.

has been so much misunderstood,²³ shows at least one thing: that some forms of artisan production and commercial exchange within Constantinople were highly specialized and diversified into self-contained and regulated units. But, during the High Middle Ages, economic growth and urbanization in the West was accompanied by rapid extension of divisions of labour. The economy of the Mediterranean world became ever more characterized by wider ranges of goods and services and increased specialization in different forms of agriculture, industry and commerce. Byzantium participated in these processes. By the twelfth century estate inventories record large numbers of people with names such as 'Smith,' 'Tailor,' 'Cooper,' 'Miller' and many others. Rural communities had increasing specialization of labour functions.²⁴ Regional specialization in both agricultural and industrial production became marked: the wine of the Aegean islands and the Peloponnesos, the grain of Thessaly and Thrace, the olive oil of the Peloponnesos, the glass of Corinth, the silk of Nauplion and Thebes, the samite cloth of Andros, the jewellery of Skopje and Ohrid. The list goes on. The character of the Empire's economy came to look increasingly like that of some commercialized regions of the West such as Provence or Catalonia.

There is evidence that in response to urbanization and commercialization an assertive, self-conscious urban middle class began to emerge in Byzantine towns. Niketas Choniates relates the tale of a moneychanger called Kalomodios who made a fortune in the late twelfth century.²⁵ He was a 'skinflint' [lit. 'a cumin-splitter'], totally committed to making money, and undertook long voyages for trade. An attempt by imperial officials between 1198 and 1201 to seize his wealth provoked a riot in Constantinople. But, in fact, Kalomodios was surely not a moneychanger. Moneychangers did not make long journeys for trade, nor did they usually become beloved of urban mobs. In all probability, he was a merchant and shipmaster who also engaged in banking and moneychanging, just as his contemporaries did in the West. His so-called parsimony sounds suspiciously like what we would call 'Capital Accumulation.'

The Komnenoi century, with its strong affirmation of imperial authority, was not likely to encourage the formation of urban solidarities. Yet it is in the twelfth century that we first see the emergence of an urban middle class characterized as μέσοι and βουργέσιοι, the latter term originally derived from

²³ The *Book of the Prefect* is invariably interpreted as an economic document which may be used in studies of the Byzantine economy. What seems to escape attention is that the document's focus is confined to certain trades and certain forms of commercial activity which were of critical concern either to the imperial court itself or to the populace of Constantinople. The contentedness of the populace of the capital was of vital concern to the state, as it had been ever since the time of Augustus. The purpose of the *Book of the Prefect* was political rather than economic. It reveals virtually nothing about the Byzantine economy.

²⁴ A. E. Laiou [-Thomadakis], *Peasant Society in the late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977) pp. 120-127.

²⁵ Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H. Magoulias (Detroit, 1984), pp. 287-288.

Latins domiciled in the Empire. These are terms which require definition in particular circumstances. But, when taken together with other indices, such as the use of the term *συγκαστήται* for the populace of Larissa, the grant of privileges to some towns in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the appearance of trade guilds free of state controls, and the taking of collective political action by urban populaces, such as at Adrianople after 1204 and at Thessalonika during the Zealot revolt of 1342–49, no matter how inchoate those actions were, they signify the appearance of an embryonic collective urban and middle class consciousness within Byzantine society. This is well illustrated by the way in which the rich merchants and shipowners of Constantinople backed the attempt of Alexios Apokaukos to control the throne in the 1340s because his policies suited their interests.²⁶

In the High and Late Middle Ages a Mediterranean world economy was created which was characterized by an international market in finance and some forms of commerce, which was constructed on the foundation of regional economies, and into which the Empire became integrated. The great provinces became increasingly specialized in forms of production, less closely tied economically to Constantinople and more connected to other parts of the Mediterranean world. Byzantines themselves were found far afield, the merchants of Monemvasia, Thessalonika and Constantinople being especially prominent. Byzantines attempted at least to participate in the Mediterranean exchange system as did their competitors. If, as Laiou has asserted, their role remained secondary to that of the Italians, the question is, why? What were the critical factors which limited Byzantine success?

This development of a Mediterranean world economy was predicated upon an enormous expansion in both the frequency and volume of maritime traffic. Not only did ships become larger, they sailed more often for more destinations. Data on the size of Byzantine ships are virtually non-existent. However, to judge from its cargo of 5,421 $\frac{1}{2}$ Genoese *mine* (654,375 litres) of grain, the ship sailed by Manuel Kabasilas to Genoa in 1384 had a deadweight tonnage of at least 434 metric tonnes. It would not have been one of the very largest ships afloat, but it would have been comparable in size to a respectable Venetian carrack of the period.²⁷

Data on the size of the Byzantine merchant marine are similarly exiguous. However, there are some figures. In 1149, according to John Kinnamos, Manuel I Komnenos assembled a transport fleet of 1,000 ships for an assault on Corfu.²⁸ The figure is no doubt inflated but it is clear that the fleet was very large and there is no doubt that it must have been put together from the merchant marine of

²⁶ Laiou, 'Byzantine economy,' p. 193; Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, p. 47, n. 45.

²⁷ F. C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1934), pp. 39–40, 47 (Table D).

²⁸ John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 3.2, trans. C. M. Brand (New York, 1976), p. 76.

the Empire. In 1347–48 John VI Kantakouzenos reduced the tax on commerce, κομμέρκιον, for Byzantines from 10 per cent to 2 per cent and, if we may believe him, this resulted in a rapid expansion of the Byzantine merchant marine by 200 ships.²⁹ Again the figure is probably inflated but there certainly was a significant expansion in the Byzantine merchant marine at this time for its growth provoked the Genoese, who feared its potential competition, to war in 1348.

In all periods the size of the Byzantine merchant marine must have been considerable. However, its operations increasingly became integrated into those of the western powers. This was not so much a process of subordination or exploitation, as has frequently been claimed, as of integration, integration of unequals to be sure, but integration nevertheless. Similar processes can be detected elsewhere; for example, Italy and Provence, Provence and Catalonia, or Sicily and the Maghreb. Thus the evidence of Genoese and Venetian sources, which shows integration of Byzantine maritime traffic with that of the Italians, should cause no surprise. For example, if the Genoese came to play an important role in the provisioning of Constantinople from the fourteenth century, nevertheless 30 per cent of the ships trading from the Genoese colony of Khilia on the Danube to Constantinople and Pera in 1360–61 were owned by Byzantines. This is according to a Genoese source in which Byzantines appear only when they did business with Genoese.³⁰ How many more Byzantines were also engaged in trade at Khilia but do not appear in the source because they did not deal with Genoese?

In other circumstances, such an integration into wider economic systems may have proved beneficial. Catalonia, for example, profited from a very similar economic evolution in which her early maritime traffic grew up under the tutelage of the Italians. But, in the Mediterranean world of the High Middle Ages, whenever regions, city states, monarchies or other powers did manage to take advantage of the evolving Mediterranean economy, they did so through the application of force. Such force could be formal or informal, physical or political, military or naval, or economic. It took many forms, from economic boycott to privateering, to formal naval expeditions, to diplomatic protest and to reprisals. Catalonia is again a case in point. The rise of its maritime traffic to prominence across the Mediterranean in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries owed much to the forceful support provided by the kings of Aragon to their subjects abroad.³¹ Byzantines attempting to participate in the increasingly complex and interrelated trade systems of the Mediterranean needed the backing of their governments if they were to compete on equal terms.

²⁹ John VI Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum libri VI*, 4.12, in PG 154:95–96.

³⁰ M. Balard, 'Gênes et la Mer Noire (XIIIe–XVe siècles),' *Revue historique* 270 (1983), 31–54; here p. 51.

³¹ See J. L. Yarrison, *Force as an Instrument of Policy: European Military Incursions and Trade in the Maghreb, 1000–1355* (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1982).

It is doubtful whether any Byzantine rulers ever took measures to support Byzantine maritime traffic purely from realization of the fact that it would benefit their domains economically, and ultimately themselves — for that purpose *per se*. Nevertheless, some of the actions they took for other reasons, essentially maintenance of their own status, were beneficial to their merchant classes. The reconstruction of the navy by Alexios I and Manuel I Komnenos was critical in enabling the Empire to control the influence of the Italians in the twelfth century. Then, building upon initiatives taken during the Nicaean period, Michael VIII Palaeologos built the fleet up to around 100 effective units and used it to cement Byzantine security in the Aegean for some two decades in the 1260s and 1270s, giving Byzantines a chance to compete in that region at least. Not surprisingly, Andronikos II's decision in 1284 to lay up the fleet as a cost-cutting measure was seen by later historians such as Nikephoros Gregoras as a critical factor in explaining the decline of the Empire both economically and politically.³² Byzantine rulers also took other steps to support the position of Byzantine merchants abroad. Treaties which gave Byzantines trading rights abroad were concluded with Genoa, Venice and Egypt. Protests were made to foreign powers over the treatment of Byzantines in their territories and attempts were made to gain compensation for corsair attacks on Byzantine ships, sometimes successfully.³³ However, the degree of this support was inadequate. It was constrained both by the erosion of Byzantine politico-military-naval power and also, perhaps, by traditional Byzantine values which militated against real concern for the defence of Byzantine maritime traffic on the part of aristocratic rulers, even if Byzantine aristocrats themselves were engaged in that traffic. Byzantine shipping became too easy a prey for Turkish and western corsairs.

The social and economic structures of the Empire changed in response to developing economic forces and structures. But some of these changes were more marked than others and, in some cases, blockages to a sufficient degree of social and political change can be detected.

The parcellation of sovereignty characteristic of the Komnenoi and Palaeologoi periods, the passing of power into the hands of provincial archons and dynasts, was a natural response to economic regionalization and not necessarily a sign of political collapse.³⁴ The successor states to the twelfth-century Empire in Nicaea, Trebizond, Epiros and the Peloponnesos were never properly reintegrated into the Empire but they flourished economically and proved to be sources of resilient

³² H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer: la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance au VIIe-XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966), pp. 376–377.

³³ Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, pp. 83–85; I. B. Katele, *Captains and Corsairs: Venice and Piracy, 1261–1381* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1986), pp. 232–241, 282.

³⁴ A. Kazhdan and G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington, 1982), pp. 133–155; Oikonomides, 'Byzantium and the Western powers,' pp. 324–326; A. E. Laiou [-Thomadakis], 'Byzantine Aristocracy,' pp. 131–151; P. Charanis, 'On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later,' *Byzantinoslavica* 12 (1951), 94–153.

resistance to external enemies of the Byzantine world. The extension of the institution of *πρόνοια* to create virtually autonomous apanages for members of the imperial family during the Palaeologoi period, for example the grant of Thessalonika to Manuel Palaeologos, and also the growth of the archon class playing an increasingly important role in local government in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had positive benefits in creating forms of authority, both formal and informal, at social and political levels where they were most useful, natural and effective. As Kazhdan has suggested, the consequences of 1204 in the creation of provincial semi-autonomies was a source of strength for the Empire as a whole and enabled it to resist its external enemies as, if not more, tenaciously than a centralized state may have been able to do. The validity of such an assertion may be seen in the way in which the Nicaean empire successfully resisted Turkish and Mongol pressure on its eastern frontiers whereas, when the Nicaean rulers moved to Constantinople in 1261, the provinces in Asia Minor were lost within forty years.

New types of social and political relationships required new personal cement to hold them together. Alexios I created the new dignity of *σεβαστός* for relatives of the imperial family by blood or marriage, who were then appointed to governorships throughout the Empire. This system was similar in principle to the idea of *'asabīyya*, family solidarity, which Saladin and his heirs used to govern the Ayyubid sultanate. Both the Komnenoi and their successor dynasties also used strategic marriages between members of ruling families and other great aristocratic families to secure the loyalty of the aristocracy. Lavish distribution of imperial titles was yet another means of achieving the same ends. The formal element which tied together all these new relationships was the increased use of oaths of faithfulness and loyalty, imposing obligations on both lords and followers. Byzantines had used oaths of faithfulness, *πίστις*, for centuries to bind lord and servant, patron and client, relationships. But in the late Empire they assumed new dimensions. To take two examples, both from the year 1341. Michael Gabrielopoulos, a dynast from Thessaly, took an oath to his archons of Phanarion to confirm their rights and possessions. The document recording this specified that if an archon was accused of unfaithfulness, *ἀπιστία*, he would be judged in the presence of all the archons. In the same year, John VI Kantakouzenos appointed his cousin, John Angelos, to the governorship of Thessaly. In return John swore to be faithful, to be a friend of his friends and enemy of his enemies, owing him the loyalty of a bound retainer: *δουλοσύνη*.³⁵

Perhaps the most spectacular aspect of Byzantine adaptation to a changing world was the process by which members of the aristocracy became increasingly

³⁵ J. H. Pryor, 'The Oaths of the Leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: Fealty, Homage — *pistis, douleia*,' *Parergon*, n.s. 2 (1984), 111–141; Laiou, 'Byzantine Aristocracy,' Charanis, 'Social Structure,' M. Angold, 'Archons and Dynasts: Local Aristocracies and the Cities of the Later Byzantine Empire,' in idem, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XII Centuries* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 236–253.

involved in commerce in the fourteenth century, just as the urbanized Italian nobility had from the eleventh.³⁶ Of the 239 merchants identified by name by Laiou in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 18 per cent bore aristocratic names in the period 1311–52, 20 per cent in 1353–1402, and 34 per cent in 1403–53.³⁷ Shortly before 1350, Leon Kalothetes, governor of Phocaea, was engaged in trade in grain and salt. Emperors themselves, such as John VII, dealt in the grain trade. Women of the close imperial family made commercial investments. Nicholas Notaras made a fortune speculating in the Genoese public debt. This participation by the Byzantine aristocracy in commerce and finance was not merely a consequence of the loss of its estates to Turks and Serbs. Rather it was a natural evolution from the earlier practice of the aristocracy of disposing of surplus product from its estates on commercial markets.³⁸ It was an appropriate response to the changing nature of the Byzantine economy within the Mediterranean world by people concerned to maximize their fortunes and not overly inhibited by traditional values.

On the other hand, perhaps the most spectacular example of Byzantine failure to adapt was the Empire's almost complete failure to develop appropriate forms of corporation for the horizontal organization of urban society. Whereas, in the West, forms of corporation flowered and gave structural strength to urban society, in the Empire they remained embryonic at best. The archons controlling provincial towns seem to have developed no formal corporate structures for themselves and may have prevented other elements of urban society from doing so. Even the most extensive of the imperial chrysobulls granted to towns from the thirteenth century onwards, such as that for Ioannina in 1317, did not recognize the towns as corporations or cede internal self government, except in particular, specified jurisdictions. Although other forms of group association can be found, such as religious confraternities at Thebes and Naupaktos, neighbourhood associations at Thessalonika, and trade guilds at Constantinople, nowhere do these appear to have assumed the public, corporate character that they acquired in the West.³⁹ Whereas urban privileges in the West flowered and became legal corporate rights, covering and protecting individuals under enforceable umbrellas of collective rights and responsibilities, in the Empire they never passed beyond the grudgingly conceded status of privileges *per se* and failed to provide the necessary scope, freedoms and

³⁶ Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, pp. 114–123; Laiou, 'Observations,' p. 56; idem, 'Byzantine economy,' pp. 199–206.

³⁷ Laiou, 'Greek Merchant,' pp. 105–109.

³⁸ See V. von Falkenhausen, 'A Provincial Aristocracy: The Byzantine Provinces in Southern Italy (9th–11th Century),' in Angold, ed., *Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 211–235, here p. 213; A Guillou, 'Production and Profits in the Byzantine Province of Italy (tenth to eleventh centuries),' *DOP* 28 (1974), 89–109.

³⁹ Charanis, 'Town and Country,' pp. 134–136; Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, pp. 108–114; Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, pp. 50–53; Angold, 'Byzantine cities,' pp. 16–20; Oikonomides, 'Byzantium and the Western Powers,' p. 329; P. Charanis, 'The Role of the People in the Political Life of the Byzantine Empire: The Period of the Comneni and the Palaeologi,' *Byzantine Studies* 5 (1978), 69–79, here pp. 71–77.

latitude for urban Byzantines to seize the initiative to further their own interests at all costs. A similar comment could be made about the Muslim world.

To conclude. The Byzantine Empire and its territories became increasingly integrated into the economy of the Mediterranean world. Its economy was driven into evolution by forces which were similar in kind to those which can be identified elsewhere; if, indeed, they were not actually those self-same forces. Its society responded in ways which can be explained on these bases and it developed, at least in part, institutions appropriate to this response. In some ways Byzantines proved to be remarkably flexible. Certain aspects of change in Byzantine socio-political structures were quite striking. However, there were also areas of failure or blockage which had critical consequences. The urban middle classes failed, or were not permitted, to develop fully their cohesion and their own ethos. This was the reason for the failure of formal types of urban corporation to pass beyond embryonic forms. In fact, the delineation between private and public did not advance at all in the Empire. As time wore on, public offices and responsibilities became private prerogatives or possessions. Finally, Byzantine governments failed to deliver sufficient essential force and projection of political influence to enable Byzantines to compete on equal terms with the entrepreneurs of the West.

Vom Kriegsgeschrei zur Tanzmusik. Anmerkungen zu den Italienzügen des späteren Mittelalters

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Gegenstand der folgenden Ausführungen sind einige Aspekte der mittelalterlichen Italienzüge, die nichts zu tun haben mit Geschichtsbilder prägenden Vorgängen wie beispielsweise dem Gang Heinrichs IV. nach Canossa (1077), der Niederlage Barbarossas bei Legnano (1176) oder der, zweiundneunzig Jahre später (1268), den Untergang der staufischen Hoffnungen besiegelnden, Niederlage Konradins bei Tagliacozzo.

Nehmen wir einmal den Brief des vornehmen Luccheser Kaufmanns Bartolomeo Martini,¹ der anlässlich der Aufnahme König Sigismunds in Lucca im Frühjahr 1432 und seiner damit verbundenen persönlichen Erlebnisse in erster Linie beklagte, seine Frau sei unausstehlich und überheblich geworden, weil sie dem Kaiser während der Festlichkeiten dreimal die Hand habe küssen dürfen: *non posso vivere con Zabetta mia consorte, per il grande orgoglio che mi ha adosso per essere a queste feste toccate e baciato la mano all'Imperatore tre volte.*²

Die späteren Italienzüge der römisch-deutschen Könige und Kaiser sind nur noch selten von offensivem Kampfgetöse und Kriegsgeschrei erfüllt, sondern im Gegenteil eher von feierlichem Zeremoniell, prunkvollen Festen und vergnügten Lustbarkeiten aller Art. Der Vergleich mit heutigen Gepflogenheiten liegt nahe. Wenn heutzutage ein Staatsoberhaupt bei seinem Besuch in Städten des eigenen Landes oder gar bei Auslandsbesuchen durch Vertreter der jeweiligen politischen, geistlichen, kulturellen und finanziellen Eliten empfangen, durch geschliffene Begrüßungsrede, Geschenke und Festlichkeiten geehrt wird und Schaulustige den Weg des hohen Gastes eine Strecke lang säumen, so ist dieses, wie schon ein Blick in das 15. Jahrhundert zeigt, keine Erfindung der Moderne.³

¹ Girolamo Sesti, *Storia diplomatica lucchese* [Lucca, A. S., MS 62, no 35]; *Lettera di Bartolomeo Martini su la venuta in Lucca di Sigismondo re de' Romani*, ed. Salvatore Bongi, *Nozze d'Ancona und Nissim* (Lucca, 1871); Luigi Fumi, *Carteggio degli Anziani (1430–1472)*, *Regesti del R. Archivio di Stato di Lucca* 4 (Lucca, 1907), b, n° 256, S. 322–324.

² Martini, *Lettera*, S. 17.

³ Den *adventus regis* im mittelalterlichen Imperium behandelt unzulänglich, weitestgehend fixiert auf die Verhältnisse im deutschen Sprachraum, Anna Maria Drabek, *Reisen und Reisezeremoniell der römisch-deutschen Herrscher im Spätmittelalter*, *Wiener Dissertationen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte* 1 (Wien, 1964). Winfried Dotzauer, 'Die Ankunft des Herrschers. Der fürstliche 'Einzug' in die Stadt (bis zum Ende des Alten Reichs,' *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 75 (1979), 245–288 untersucht in

Der römische König und Kaiser hatte im Spätmittelalter nicht anders als in früheren Zeiten überall Anspruch auf Begrüßung und Geleit durch die Vornehmsten der Stadt, die ranghöchsten Vertreter von Ortsklerus und Bürgerschaft. In den italienischen Universitätsstädten, die damals einen römischen König oder Kaiser zu Gast hatten, gehörten die Lehrer an den hohen Schulen zu den Honoratioren, die beim Empfang zugegen sein mußten. Das wird in den Nachrichten über Empfänge Sigismunds und Friedrichs III. in verschiedenen Städten deutlich. Als beispielsweise im Januar 1452 Friedrich III. in Bologna Einzug hielt, waren die Doktoren dabei, als Kardinal Bessarion, gefolgt von den Anzianen, Klerus und Zünften dem König entgegenzog, ja die gesamte Bevölkerung Bolognas war auf den Beinen: Beim gemeinsamen Einzug in feierlicher Prozession wurde den Doktoren die große Ehre zuteil, den Habsburger zu geleiten, und so schritten sie neben, vor und hinter ihm.⁴

Doch nehmen wir uns einmal einen konkreten Empfang vor: Am 31. Mai 1432 traf König Sigismund vor der Stadt Lucca in der Toscana ein. Die Begeisterung war unaussprechlich. Lassen wir den schon genannten Bartolomeo Martini zu Wort kommen, der seinem, damals geschäftshalber in Brügge weilenden, Bruder kurz nach dem am 5. Juli erfolgten Abzug des Königs aus Lucca auf sehr persönliche Weise ausführlich von den ereignisreichen Wochen zwischen Ankunft und Abzug Sigismunds berichtet hat:⁵

Sigismund marschierte von Norden auf Lucca zu und mußte den Serchio

seiner interessanten Studie die Verhältnisse südlich der Alpen praktisch nicht, ebenso wenig Alois Niederstätter, 'Königseinritt und -gastung in der spätmittelalterlichen Reichsstadt,' in *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter*, ed. Detlef Altenburg et. al. (Sigmaringen, 1991), S. 491–500. Von grundlegender Bedeutung für die geistesgeschichtliche Dimension des Problems ist immer noch die Studie von Ernst H. Kantorowicz, 'The "King's Advent" and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of S. Sabina,' *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944), 206–231 (besonders S. 207–220). Zum Zeremoniell des Herrscherempfanges im spätmittelalterlichen Frankreich vgl. v. a. Jean Chartrou, *Les entrées solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance, 1484–1551* (Paris, 1928); *Les entrées royales françaises 1328–1515*, ed. Bernard Guénée et F. Lehoux (Paris, 1968); Lawrence M. Bryant, 'The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris,' in *Coronations — Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János Bak (Berkeley, 1990), S. 88–118. Es fehlen Untersuchungen zum Einzugszeremoniell in den übrigen europäischen Reichen des Mittelalters. Zu den Verhältnissen in Italien demnächst M.L. Favreau-Lilie, *Zeremoniell und Herrschaft in Italien*.

⁴ Cherubino Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna. Parte terza*, ed. Albano Sorbelli, RIS NS 33/1:140–141. *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. Giosuè Carducci, Vittorio Fiorini, A. Sorbelli, RIS NS 18/4:180 (Cronaca A, B). Vgl. auch die Nachrichten über den Einzug Sigismunds in Perugia (*Cronaca detta Diario del Graziani*, ed. Francesco Bonaini et al., 'Cronache e storie inedite della città di Perugia,' *Archivio storico italiano* 1.16 [1850], 3), und in Siena (Petrus Russius, *Historiae suorum temporum fragmentum* [1429–1435], ed. Uberto Benvoglianti, RIS 20:41). Beim Empfang Friedrichs III. in Ferrara stand den Vertretern des Studium ein herausgehobener Platz unmittelbar hinter der Geistlichkeit zu (Fr Johannes Ferrariensis, *Ex annalium libris marchionum Estensium excerpta*, aa. 00–1454, ed. Luigi Simeoni, RIS NS 20/2:38; *Diario Ferrarese dall' anno 1409 sino al 1502*, ed. Giuseppe Pardi, RIS NS 24/7:34).

⁵ Martini, *Lettera*, S. 11–17 (S. 11–13 zum *adventus*).

überqueren, um die Stadt zu erreichen. In langer Prozession zogen der oberste Magistrat (das Anzianenkollegium), die gesamte Bürgerschaft und der gesamte Stadtklerus, dazu alle Knaben zwischen 10 und 12 Jahren und nicht zuletzt alle Truppen, die Lucca aufbieten konnte, dem König vor die Stadt entgegen, und zwar bis zu jener Stelle am Ufer des Serchio, wo er das Lucca zugewandte Ufer erreichen würde. Die Knaben waren in weiße Gewänder gekleidet und hielten Ölbaumzweige in Händen, mit denen sie fähnchengleich dem König zuwinken konnten. Sobald Sigismund dem Fluß entstiegen und auf der Höhe der geistlich-weltlichen Prozession angelangt war, kam es zur offiziellen Begrüßung: Die Anzianen traten vor, die Stadtschlüssel wurden überreicht, die Herrschaft Sigismunds über die Stadt somit anerkannt; man hielt eine Begrüßungsrede, und dann erschallten unisono die Akklamationsrufe der Menge: 'Viva l'imperadore e suo sacro imperio!'

Sigismund behielt die Stadtschlüssel nicht. Er gab er sie den Anzianen zurück und trug ihnen, seinen 'echten und guten Söhnen,' nach den Worten unseres Briefschreibers auf, die Freiheit der Stadt wie bisher so auch künftig zu bewahren.

Danach begann der feierliche Einzug in die Stadt: Vor dem Herrscher gingen in Dreierreihen die weiß gekleideten Knaben; aus ihren Kehlen erklang das 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini,' während der Klerus das 'Te Deum' anstimmte. Es folgte ein Teil des königlichen Gefolges, Lehnsleute unter Waffen und (ungarische) Bogenschützen, dann Sigismund selbst zu Pferd unter einem großen Baldachin aus Goldbrokat, der von sechs vornehmen Bürgern getragen wurde; zu beiden Seiten des Königs schritten auf Wunsch des Herrschers die Anzianen, den Schluß bildete der Rest jenes 1000 Mann starken Kavalleriekontingents — vornehmlich Hilfstruppen aus Mailand —, das Sigismund nach Lucca hinein begleiten durfte.

So gelangte man langsam und unter den Hochrufen der Menge am Straßenrand, die unentwegt 'Viva l'Imperatore' rief, zum Quartier des Königs, dem Amtssitz des obersten Magistrats. Man hatte für prächtige Dekoration der Stadt gesorgt: Blumen, duftendes Grün und anderes schmückten die Straßen, und mit Blumen und grünem Laub bekränzten die Lucchesen Sigismund und seine Begleiter. Die Begeisterung über die Ankunft des Königs kannte keine Grenzen, hoffte man doch, daß er der Stadt die Unabhängigkeit von Florenz erhalten würde, gegen das Lucca sich damals nur mit Mühe behaupten konnte.

Daß man sich in Lucca kein singuläres Zeremoniell ausgedacht hatte, ergibt der Vergleich mit dem Einzug Sigismunds in Siena, einige Wochen später: Schon am 2. März 1432 waren drei Gesandte Sigismunds dort erschienen,⁶ vermutlich, um damals schon grundsätzlich über die Aufnahme des Königs während des geplanten Romzuges zu verhandeln. Von Lucca aus schickte Sigismund so rechtzeitig einen Beauftragten nach Siena, um dort Quartier zu machen — es handelte sich um den Grafen Amatico⁷ —, daß den Sienesen für die konkreten Vorbereitungen fünf

⁶ Tommaso Fecini, *Cronaca Senese* (1431–1479), ed. Alessandro Lisini, RIS NS 15/6, 2:842.

⁷ Er traf am 5. Juni 1432 in Siena ein: Fecini, *Cronaca Senese*, S. 843. Am 5. Juni 1432 wandte

Wochen Zeit blieb. Die Aufzeichnungen der Behörden zeigen, wie sorgfältig, bis ins kleinste Detail durchdacht, die Planungen für Empfang und Aufenthalt von König und Heer abliefen. Drei Tage vor Sigismunds Eintreffen wurde festgelegt, durch welches Tor der Herrscher einziehen sollte und daß auf der Fassade des Rathauses, in der Mitte zwischen dem höher angebrachten Wappen der Kommune und dem darunter befindlichen Zeichen für den Namen Christi, das Wappen Sigismunds, d.h. das Reichswappen, als Wandgemälde anzubringen sei.⁸ Als der König am 12. Juli mit seinem Heer vor der Stadt eintraf, bereitete man ihm auch hier einen beeindruckend prunkvollen Empfang.⁹ Die Behörden mußten dabei nicht improvisieren, sondern stützten sich ganz offensichtlich auf ein ausgearbeitetes Empfangszeremoniell, wie es in Siena beim Empfang bedeutender Fürsten üblich war.¹⁰

In langer Prozession in Zweierreihen aufgestellt, erwartete die gesamte politische Führung Sienas zusammen mit der Geistlichkeit der Stadt den König vor dem nördlichen Stadttor, der Porta Camollia. Man zog ihm bis zum Kloster der Hl. Petronella entgegen: An der Spitze schritt der Klerus mit sämtlichen Prozessionskreuzen. Man hatte einen prächtig gestalteten Baldachin dabei, der mit dem Reichsadler, dem Wappen des mit Sigismund verbündeten Herzogs

sich die Regierung Sienas wegen Geleitschutzes für die städtischen Gesandten, die nach Lucca zum König reisen sollten, an diesen: Siena, A. S., *Concistoro, Copialettere*, 1638, fol. 174r.

⁸ Siena, A. S., *Concistoro, Deliberazioni*, 399, fol. 13v.

⁹ Auf der Schilderung des Senesen Pietro Rossi, der möglicherweise nicht nur Zeit-, sondern in Siena auch Augenzeuge war und das Erlebte oder Gehörte für die Nachwelt aufgezeichnet hat (Russius, *Historiae suorum temporum fragmentum*, col. 40–45 [40]) beruhen die Berichte der bekanntesten senesischen Historiographen des 16./17. Jahrhunderts. Sie haben den lateinischen Bericht des Rossi über Ankunft und Aufenthalt Sigismunds in Siena im wesentlichen nur ins Italienische übertragen, wenn auch nicht ohne ihn gelegentlich um zusätzliche Informationen anzureichern und in einigen Punkten sehr subjektiv zu interpretieren: Giugurta Tommasi, *Storia di Siena dall' anno 1355 all' anno 1553* (lib. 3), Bd. 1 (1355–1470), Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 113 (A. IV. 3), fol. 336r–346v. Vergleichsweise wenige Details über den Empfang Sigismunds bieten Fecini, *Cronaca Senese*, S. 844–848 (844) und Orlando Malavolti, *Historie de' fatti e guerre de' Sanesi così esterne come civili, seguite dall'origine della lor città, fino all'anno M. D. LV. fra le quali si narra in che modo e in quai tempi si crearon quelle cinque fattioni che domandan ordini o Monti* (Venezia, 1599), 3.2, fol. 24r–27r (24r). Den Bericht des Pietro Rossi über Sigismunds Aufenthalt in Siena gekannt hat am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts gewiß auch Sigismondo Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, 10 Bände (Autograph, Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Chigiani G. I. 31–40), Bd. 4 (MS Chigiano G. I. 34): 134r–140v, der allerdings auch andere Informationsquellen hatte. Vgl. zu der offiziellen Begrüßung durch die ranghöchsten Vertreter der Stadt auch den Beschluß des Konsistoriums: Siena, A. S., *Concistoro, Deliberazioni*, 399, fol. 16v.

¹⁰ Malavolti, *Historie*, Bd. 2, fol. 24r: *usate le cerimonie solite farsi à Principi grandi*. Die Überlieferung in Siena ist so reichhaltig, daß hier, wie Ventrone ('Le forme dello spettacolo toscano nel Trecento: Tra rituale civico e cerimoniale festivo,' in *La Toscana nel secolo XIV. Caratteri di una civiltà regionale*, ed. Sergio Gensini, Centro di Studi sulla civiltà del tardo medioevo San Miniato, Collana di studi e ricerche 2 [Pisa, 1988], S. 512) mit Recht hervorgehoben hat, schon recht früh, seit dem 14. Jahrhundert, und besonders gut beobachtet werden kann, wie sich ein feststehendes städtisches Zeremoniell für den Empfang von Kaisern, Königen, Fürsten und Prälaten ausgebildet hat.

von Mailand, sowie den Abzeichen der Kommune und des Popolo von Siena geschmückt war. Hinter dem Baldachin schritten die obersten Magistrate von Siena, die die Schlüssel der Stadttore trugen. Es folgten drei vornehme, festlich in samtene Gewänder gekleidete, Bürger als Fahnenträger mit den Bannern des Kaisers, des Herzogs von Mailand und der Kommune Siena. Als Eskorte fungierte ein Trupp Edelknappen mit Kränzen aus Ölbaumzweigen im Haar. Hinter der Signoria folgten in hierarchischer Reihenfolge die Angehörigen der anderen Magistraturen, der Zünfte und der Bürgerschaft. In diesem Punkt unterschied sich diese Prozession nicht von anderen, die sich zur Feier wichtiger religiöser Feste, oder auch zum Empfang anderer Gäste formierten.¹¹

Die Signori und Ehrenabordnungen der anderen Magistraturen fielen vor Sigismund auf die Knie, damit der König sie segnen möge. Es folgte, verbunden mit der Übergabe der Stadtschlüssel, eine feierliche Ansprache, in der man sich dem König als eigentlichem Herrn des Gemeinwesens empfahl. Während man so die Treue Sienas gegenüber dem Römischen Reich hervorhob, nahm Sigismund die Stadtschlüssel entgegen; er küßte und restituierte sie anschließend, wie schon zuvor in Lucca, den Mitgliedern der Stadtregierung. Auch er hielt eine kurze Ansprache, in der er die Signoria als Wächter Sienas und die Bürger der Stadt als seine 'guten und gehorsamen Söhne' bezeichnete und die Hoffnung auf die Fortdauer ihrer unverbrüchlichen Treue äußerte. Die Ähnlichkeit des ganzen Vorgangs mit dem Empfang in Lucca ist offensichtlich.

Nach Rückgabe der Stadtschlüssel nahm man Aufstellung zum feierlichen Einzug in die Stadt. Sigismund ritt unter dem Baldachin, den herausragende Bürger Sienas trugen. Wie in Lucca schritten zu seiner Linken und Rechten neben dem Pferd die obersten Magistrate: der Prior der Signoria und der Capitano del popolo. Der Klerus zog voran, und hinter Sigismund folgten das königliche Heer, in hierarchischer Ordnung dann die übrigen Magistrate und die Bürger. Erstes Ziel war die Bischofskirche, von dort ging es weiter zu Sigismunds Quartier. Erst dort stieg der König vom Pferd. Sein Einzug vollzog sich, wie in Lucca, unter lauten Akklamationsrufen der schaulustigen Menge, die die Straßen säumte. Auch die Sienesen hatten die Route der Prozession quer durch die Stadt geschmückt: allerdings offenbar nicht mit Blumen und Grün, sondern nur mit Schilden, auf denen nebeneinander die Wappen des Reiches, des Herzogs von Mailand und der Kommune Siena abgebildet waren. Längs der Gassen, die der König passieren sollte, hatte man kostbare Teppiche und Seidenstoffe aufgehängt. Am Abend des Ankunftstages brannten in der Stadt Freudenfeuer, es erklangen Bläserfanfaren und Glockengeläut.

Weder in Lucca noch in Siena blieb bei der Begrüßung und Einholung Sigismunds irgendetwas dem Zufall überlassen. Zwar sind in den Kommunalarchiven beider Städte keine Zeremonienbücher für einen solchen Empfang überliefert, aber man fertigte vielleicht doch schon, wie in einigen deutschen Reichsstädten,¹² Aufzeichnungen über den konkreten Ablauf solcher

¹¹ Ventrone, 'Forme dello spettacolo toscano,' S. 509.

¹² Hinweise auf traditionelles Brauchtum bei der Durchführung von Empfangsprozessionen durch

Herrscherbesuche an, die für den internen Gebrauch durch die städtischen Behörden bestimmt waren. Sie konnten als Anhaltspunkte für die Bewältigung eines solchen Ereignisses in der Zukunft dienen und waren später gewiß eine Fundgrube für die Verfasser von Stadtgeschichten. Es gab in jedem Fall strikte protokollarische Vorschriften, denn man hat — obwohl die Herrscherbesuche während des 14. und 15. Jh. in Reichsitalien höchst seltene Ereignisse geworden waren — die römischen Könige und Kaiser eigentlich immer gleich empfangen.¹³

Dieser *Adventus* eines römisch-deutschen Königs oder Kaisers, wie wir ihn in der Luccheser und Siener Überlieferung für Sigismund beschrieben finden, besaß eine lange, ja uralte Tradition.¹⁴ Schon im antiken Rom der Kaiserzeit zog der Herrscher nach einem ähnlichen Zeremoniell in die ewige Stadt ein: Der Princeps wurde an der Stadtgrenze eingeholt, ehrenvoll empfangen und unter einem kostbaren Baldachin in die Stadt geleitet, während die Volksmenge Palmzweige und Blumen schwenkte und in Hochrufe ausbrach. Am Empfang an der Stadtgrenze nahmen auch die Vornehmen, die Beamten, die Miliz und die Zünfte mit ihren Fahnen und Abzeichen teil. Hier fehlt naturgemäß noch das christliche Element, das erst mit Konstantin I. beginnt und dann im Laufe

die italienischen Kommunen beim Herrscheradventus finden sich gelegentlich, u. a. bei Johannes de Porta de Annoniaco, *Liber de coronatione Karoli IV Imperatoris* 28, ed. Richard Salomon, MGH SS rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum 35:63. In deutschen Reichsstädten gab es seit dem 15. Jahrhundert Aufzeichnungen über den Verlauf von Herrschereinzügen, die man zu Rate ziehen konnte, wenn es um den Empfang von Königen, Kaisern oder Bischöfen ging. Zur besonders reichhaltigen Nürnberger Überlieferung vgl. *Chroniken der fränkischen Städte: Nürnberg* 3, *Chroniken der deutschen Städte* 3 (Leipzig, 1874), S. 339–343, 351–353 und *Die Tucher'sche Fortsetzung der Jahrbücher bis 1469*, in *Chroniken der fränkischen Städte: Nürnberg* 5, *Chroniken der deutschen Städte* 11 (Leipzig, 1874), S. 470 Anm. 3–4.

¹³ 1475–76 entstand in Florenz ein Zeremonienbuch mit Anweisungen zum Empfang und zur Unterhaltung aller offiziellen Gäste, ein nüchternes Handbuch für Protokollfragen, das mit einer knappen Schilderung von Friedrichs III. Besuch im Jahre 1452 einsetzt, bis zum Jahre 1522 weitergeführt wurde und sich nicht mit der Ordnung von Prozessionen und Festlichkeiten beschäftigt. Richard C. Trexler, *The Libro Cerimoniale of the Florentine Republic by Francesco Filarete and Angelo Manfidi. Introduction and Text*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 165 (Genève, 1978).

¹⁴ Zum Folgenden vgl. Andreas Alföldi, 'Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe,' *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 49 (1934), 38–64, 79–118. Sabine G. McCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981). Otto Treitinger, *Die Oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Darmstadt, 1956), besonders S. 125–128, 227–233. Dietrich Schubert, *Kaiserliche Liturgie. Die Einbeziehung von Musikinstrumenten in den frühmittelalterlichen Gottesdienst*, Veröffentlichungen der Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Liturgieforschung 17 (Göttingen, 1968) S. 56–59. Joerg Traeger, *Der reitende Papst. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Papsttums*, Münchner kunsthistorische Abhandlungen 1 (München, 1970), S. 71–73. Rudolf Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus. Die Verchristlichung der imperialen Repräsentation unter Konstantin dem Großen als Spiegel seiner Kirchenpolitik und seines Selbstverständnisses als christlicher Kaiser*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 58 (Berlin, 1992), S. 121–149.

des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts näher ausgebildet wird, sich in Teilen allerdings an heidnischen Vorbildern orientiert.

Dieses christlich überformte Adventus-Zeremoniell der römisch-byzantinischen Kaiser, das u.a. auf den in den Evangelien geschilderten Einzug Jesu in Jerusalem anspielt,¹⁵ begründet eine Tradition, die noch im 15. Jahrhundert in Italien deutlich faßbar ist. Für die Entwicklung im Westen traditionsbildend wurde bekanntlich das seit der Zeit Karls des Großen ausgebildete Zeremoniell des Kaiseradventus in Rom.¹⁶ Den Römern war dieses Zeremoniell nicht nur aus Konstantinopel, sondern auch direkt aus der Verbindung mit dem byzantinischen Exarchen von Ravenna bekannt, dem als Vertreter des Basileus ein ähnlicher Empfang in Rom zustand, und sie empfingen mit den Ehren eines Exarchen und Patricius seit 774 auch Karl den Großen.¹⁷ Wie langlebig diese Tradition gewesen ist, zeigt der Blick auf die eingangs geschilderten Einzüge Sigismunds in Lucca und Siena.

Einige Beispiele mögen dies illustrieren: Als Konstantin der Große nach seinem Sieg über Maxentius in Rom einzog, empfingen ihn alle Vornehmen, der Senat und die gesamte Bevölkerung Roms — Männer, Frauen, Kinder, ja selbst Sklaven — mit freudigen Akklamationen.¹⁸ Insbesondere die vornehmsten Vertreter der Stadt waren schon in der Spätantike verpflichtet, dem Kaiser zu begrüßen.¹⁹ Indem Sigismund sich in Lucca und Siena von den führenden städtischen Magistraten in die Stadt geleiten ließ, so nahm er nur, wie seine Vorgänger und Nachfolger, das aus dem spätantiken Adventus-Zeremoniell überkommene Vorrecht des Kaisers auf Geleit durch die Vornehmsten der Stadt in Anspruch. Und in beiden Städten mobilisierte der Einzug des Königs die gesamte Bevölkerung.

Wenn die Lucchesen ihre Stadt zur Begrüßung Sigismunds mit Blumen und Grün schmückten²⁰ und die Sienesen Draperien aus kostbaren Stoffen

¹⁵ Mt 21, 9. Mc 11, 11. D. Vgl. auch Dieter Stutzinger, 'Der Adventus des Kaisers und der Einzug Christi in Jerusalem,' in: *Spätantike und frühes Christentum. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Liebighaus* (Frankfurt, 1983), S. 267–283.

¹⁶ Am karolingischen Königshof kannte man gewiß schon vor Karls erster Romreise das akklamatorische Zeremoniell, jenen Teil des am oströmisch-byzantinischen Kaiserhof üblichen, Kaiser und Konsuln zustehenden Zeremoniells, der im Zusammenhang mit der Verleihung des Ehrenkonsulates an Chlodwig im Jahre 508 in das Herrscherzeremoniell des merowingisch-fränkischen Hofes gelangt war. Danach hatten auch die Stellvertreter des Königs ein Anrecht auf den Empfang *cum signis et laudibus diversisque honorum vexillis*: Gregor von Tours, *Historia Francorum* 6.11, 8.1, 9.36. Vgl. Karl Hauck, 'Von einer spätantiken Randkultur zum karolingischen Europa,' *Frühmittelalter-Studien* 1 (1967), 30–38.

¹⁷ *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, Bd. 1 (Paris, ²1955), S. 497; Eduard Eichmann, 'Studien zur Geschichte der abendländischen Kaiserkrönung,' *Historisches Jahrbuch* 45 (1925), 24–25.

¹⁸ Eusebios, *Vita Constantini* 1.39, ed. Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Eusebius, Werke*, Bd. 1, 1: *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin* (Berlin, ²1991), S. 36. Herbert Hunger, 'Reditus Imperatoris,' in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. Günter Prinzing und Dieter Simon (München, 1990), S. 27.

¹⁹ Alföldi, *Ausgestaltung*, S. 38–65, 79–119. Treitinger, *Oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, S. 227–233.

²⁰ Martini, *Lettera*, S. 13: *Et grande allegrezza ha dimostrato, vedendosi tanto allegramente esser*

anbrachten,²¹ so war auch dies letzten Endes ein, wenn auch unbewußter, Rückgriff auf spätantike Bräuche, die in Byzanz erhalten geblieben waren und im Westen übernommen wurden. Beispielsweise schmückten nach dem großen Sieg des Kaisers Heraklios im Jahre 628 über die Perser die Bürger der Hauptstadt Konstantinopel diese zum triumphalen Empfang des ruhmreichen Herrschers mit Blumen als Zeichen ihrer Segenswünsche für den Kaiser,²² und für den triumphalen Einzug des Kaisers Basilios I. rund zweihundertfünfzig Jahre später (878/79) dekorierte man die Hauptstadt als Ausdruck der Freude mit Lorbeer, Blumen und Blüten aller Art, mit bestickten Gewändern und kostbaren Seidenstoffen.²³

Auch die Laudes und Akklamationen, die Klerus und Bevölkerung in Lucca und Siena Sigismund darbrachten, knüpften an die römischen Traditionen an: schon in der noch heidnischen Antike kannte man die Sprechchöre, hymnenartige Akklamationen des Volkes zu Ehren des Herrschers.²⁴ Die Akklamationen der Lucchesen und Sienesen waren gewiß zum Teil recht weltliche Akklamationsrufe,²⁵ wie sie auch aus den deutschen Königslandes bekannt sind,²⁶ vielleicht ein Chorgesang, wie er sich seit Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts in der

ricevuto dalli homini, donne e fanciulli di questa terra, che tanto, quando andò per la città, l'uno a gara dell'altro mostravano festa con fiori, erbe odorifere e altri belli ornamenti.

²¹ In Siena gabe es beides, Pflanzen- und Blumenschmuck und kostbare Stoffe: Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, Bd. 4, fol. 136r: *ornamentis decorata et adornata urbs*. Tommasi, *Historia di Siena*. Bd. 1, fol. 336r: *In Siena, intanto erano tutte le strade onde l'imperatore doveva passare ornate di Tapezzerie e di drappi di seta*. Vgl. zur Dekoration Sienas anlässlich des Empfanges Friedrichs III. im Februar 1452: Caspar Enenkel, *Relation* (1892), Chroniken der deutschen Städte 22, Augsburg 3 (Beilage 10, S. 307–328); Tizio, *ibid.*, Bd. 4, fol. 192v; Tommasi, *ibid.*, Bd. 1, fol. 401r.

²² McCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, S. 82; Hunger, 'Reditus Imperatoris,' S. 27.

²³ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. John Haldon, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 28:140–146, 140. Vgl. Hunger, 'Reditus Imperatoris,' S. 23–24. Zur Bedeutung der einzelnen Rituale des Zeremonienbuches vgl. Averil Cameron, 'The construction of court rituals: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies,' in *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge, 1988), S. 106–136 (129–136).

²⁴ Zu den Akklamationen vgl. Alföldi, *Ausgestaltung*, S. 79–88; Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, S. 71–84; Sabine Žak, *Musik als Ehr und Zier im mittelalterlichen Reich. Studien zur Musik im höfischen Leben, Recht und Zeremoniell* (Neuß, 1979), S. 9–11.

²⁵ Martini, *Lettera*, S. 12: *sclamarono tutti a una voce, Viva l'Imperadore e suo sacro Imperio*. Auch während des feierlichen Einzugs in die Stadt ließen die Lucchesen ihrer Begeisterung freien Lauf (*ibid.*, S. 13: *sempre gridando Viva l'Imperatore*. Daß der Einzug nach Siena *con incredibile applauso della moltitudine, che non restava con alta voce d'imprecare lunga a vita all'imperador' Sigismondo, e perpetua felicità al Sacro Imperio* vonstatten ging, berichtet Malavolti, *Historie*, Bd. 2, fol. 24v. Daß die hier angedeutete große Lautstärke der Tradition entsprach, ergibt sich aus den Ausführungen von Sabine Žak, 'Das Tedeum als Huldigungsgesang,' *Historisches Jahrbuch* 102 (1982), 27–28.

²⁶ Eichmann, *Kaiserkrönung* Bd. 1, S. 96–101. Bernhard Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen im Sacrum Imperium des Mittelalters* (Weimar, 1953). Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1958). Schubert, *Kaiserliche Liturgie*, S. 130–131.

Toskana verbreitet hatte.²⁷ Der Lobgesang des Psalmisten 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini',²⁸ mit dem man nicht nur vor Lucca, sondern gewiß auch in Siena Sigismund begrüßte,²⁹ erinnerte an den Einzug Jesu in Jerusalem.³⁰ Diese Antiphon war schon seit der Zeit Theodosius' I. in Rom und dann in Konstantinopel beim Empfang der nunmehr christlichen Imperatoren, die sich selbst als Stellvertreter Christi betrachteten, angestimmt worden.³¹

Auch die in Lucca und Siena praktizierte Aufstellung der Stadtbevölkerung nach Gruppen — etwa politische Führung, Klerus, Laien, Kinder —, die getrennt akklamierten, das alles ist im spätantiken römischen Reich vorgebildet.³² Die Beteiligung von Knaben am Empfang Sigismunds vor Lucca erscheint als Parallele zur allerersten Begrüßung Karls des Großen eine Meile vor Rom, wo jener von dem niederen Klerus und von Knaben empfangen worden war, die Palm- und Ölbaumzweige schwenkten und Laudes sangen.³³ Die Senesen, die Sigismund mit Fahnen entgegenzogen, taten dieses ebenfalls in der Tradition jenes römischen Adventus, denn 774 hatten Richter und Beamte der Stadt Rom den Frankenkönig Karl mit ihren Fahnen begrüßt.³⁴

Auch die Kleidung der Bürgerschaft wurde mit Bedacht gewählt, sollte sie doch möglichst der mit dem Besuch des Herrschers verbundenen Hoffnung und Freude

²⁷ Zum 'canto corale di laudi liriche' vgl. Ventrone, 'Forme dello spettacolo toscano,' S. 500–508.

²⁸ Ps 117, 25–26. Auch in Mailand erklang das *Benedictus* nicht erst im 15. Jahrhundert beim Empfang des Herrschers, der zum König von Italien gekrönt werden sollte. Vgl. *Monumenta veteris liturgiae Ambrosianae. Pontificale in usum ecclesiae Mediolanensis necnon ordines Ambrosiani ex codicibus saec. IX–XV*, ed. Marco Magistretti, Bd. 1 (Milano, 1897), S. 122. Daß die Geistlichkeit zu Padua im November 1401 beim Nahen König Ruprechts diese Antiphon intonierte, bezeugen Galeazzo e Bartolomeo Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, ed. Antonio Medin e Guido Tolome, RIS NS 17/1, P.1:474–475. Im übrigen vgl. hierzu Kantorowicz, *The King's Advent*, S. 216–217; Treitinger, *Oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, S. 231–232.

²⁹ Martini, *Lettera*, S. 12–13. Zum Te Deum, das nicht nur für Lucca bezeugt ist, vgl. zuletzt Žak, 'Das Tedeum als Huldigungsgesang,' passim (S. 1–32). Die am Einzug in die Stadt Siena im Juli 1432 beteiligten Gruppen erwähnen Russius, *Historia Senensis*, col. 40; Fecini, *Cronaca Senese*, S. 844, und Tommasi, *Historia di Siena*, Bd. 1, fol. 336v, der hier offenkundig aus beiden Werken geschöpft hat: *s'uscì ad incontrarlo alla Porta Camollia. Precedeva a tutti il Clero con le croci e doppo andava il supremo magistrato dell signoria seguitato da magistrati minori, da colleghi e di tutti gradi de' cittadini, li quali l' eletto imperatore doveva esser ricevuto...tre grandi stendardi...erano portati da tre nobili giovani, ma cavalieri... Apresto a questi era un drappello di nobili donzelli coronati d'olivo.*

³⁰ Mc 11, 11, 9; Mt 21, 9; Lc 19, 38. Io 12, 14 (nach Ps 118, 26). Vgl. Kantorowicz, *The King's Advent*, S. 211.

³¹ Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, S. 125–128.

³² Alföldi, *Ausgestaltung*, S. 79–118; Eichmann, *Kaiserkrönung*, S. 183–184.

³³ Zur Symbolik der Kinderdarstellung auf Kaiser Hadrians Münzen von Judaea vgl. Jocelyn Mary Catherine Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School. A Chapter in the History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1934), S. 117–121, pl. V, n. 2–3. Paul Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des 2. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 2 (Stuttgart, 1933), S. 162, pl. 13, n° 752–755. Kantorowicz, *The King's Advent*, S. 46.

³⁴ *Liber pontificalis*, Bd. 1, S. 497. Peter Classen, *Karl der Große, das Papsttum und Byzanz*, ed. Horst Fuhrmann und Claudia Märkl, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 9 (Sigmaringen, 1985), S. 18.

und der Friedensliebe der Stadt Ausdruck verleihen. Besonderen Symbolgehalt hatte natürlich beim Adventus der christlichen Kaisers seit der Spätantike die Farbe weiß.³⁵ die weißgewandeten Knaben in Lucca, die zu Ehren Sigismunds in der Prozession sangen, erscheinen als Parallele zu den Heerschaaren Christi nach der Offenbarung des Johannes, die mit weißer, reiner Leinwand angetan waren.³⁶

Die jungen Lucchesen begrüßten Sigismund als Stellvertreter des siegreichen Christus, als siegreichen Beherrscher des christlichen Imperium Romanum, und der König seinerseits ritt gewiß — in Analogie zum siegreichen Christus der Offenbarung³⁷ — auf einem Schimmel in die Stadt ein.³⁸ Auch wenn man sich in Lucca gewiß nicht mehr so darüber im Klaren war, so hatte doch dieser Teil des Zeremoniells ebenfalls sein Vorbild in der Spätantike. Wir lesen nämlich in einer wohl aus dem Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts stammenden Krönungsordnung, die den Einzug des Kaisers nach vollzogener Krönung regelt, daß der Herrscher in seine Hauptstadt auf einem Schimmel eintritt, bis er dann im weiteren Verlauf der Prozession auf einen festlich geschmückten Wagen überwechselte, der ihn bis zum Palast trug.³⁹

Allein die Ehre eines Einzuges unter dem Baldachin, die Sigismund in Lucca und Siena zuteil wurde,⁴⁰ ist ein Brauch, der sich nicht bereits seit dem römischen Empfang für Karl den Großen im Westen verbreitet hatte. Ein Baldachin war in dem, von den Päpsten auf Karl angewandten, spätantik-byzantinischen Herrscherzeremoniell nicht vorgesehen. Zwar kannte man im

³⁵ Traeger, *Der reitende Papst*, S. 98–99.

³⁶ Apc 19.14.

³⁷ Apc 19.11.

³⁸ Traeger, *Der reitende Papst*, S. 10, 12, 32–33. Die italienischen Berichterstatter erwähnen die Farbe der königlich-kaiserlichen Reitpferde beim Einzug gewiß deshalb nicht, weil man auf das Selbstverständliche nicht eigens hinwies. Fälle von Usurpation dieses Vorrechtes, wie sie an den Fürstenhöfen der Renaissance vorkamen, wurden hingegen notiert. Lucrezia Borgia beispielsweise sollte anlässlich ihrer Vermählung mit Alfonso d'Este auf einem Schimmel in Ferrara einziehen: *Diario Ferrarese dall' anno 1409 sino al 1502 di autori incerti*, ed. Giuseppe Pardi, RIS NS 24/7: 281–282. Bekanntlich bevorzugten auch die Päpste weiße Reittiere (vgl. Kantorowicz, *The King's Advent*, S. 51–52 Anm. 66). Kaiser Sigismund zu Pferd stellt ein Relief auf einer 1445 für die Kirche St Peter in Rom gefertigte Bronzetür dar, das den Krönungszug von 1433 verewigt (vgl. Traeger, *Der reitende Papst*, Abbildung 16). Zur Bedeutung des Pferdes, das die Sonne und damit das Zentrum der Erde symbolisiert und das der Kaiser in seiner Eigenschaft als Kosmokrator reitet, vgl. Traeger, *ibid.*, S. 94–102.

³⁹ Viktor Tiftixoglu, 'Die Helenianai nebst einigen anderen Besitzungen im Vorfeld des frühen Konstantinopel,' in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. Hans-Georg Beck, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 14 (München, 1973), S. 49–120 (S. 82). Diesem Ordo entsprach wohl der Einzug Leons I. (457–474). Vgl. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, S. 9–10. Zusammenfassend mit Überblick über die ältere Literatur vgl. Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Art. 'Krönung,' in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* 4 (Stuttgart, 1991), col. 439–454.

⁴⁰ Den Baldachin, den der oberste Magistrat Sienas bei der Begrüßung des Königs für die Einzugsprozession bereithielt, erwähnen Russius, *Historia Senensis*, col. 40, 41: *Imperatore umbellam subeunte, umbellam deferentes*; Fecini, *Cronaca Senese*, S. 844: *'l bello padiglione adornato co' larme d' inperio e del duca di Milano*; Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, Bd. 4, fol. 136r: *sub pretiosissimo pallio recepto*.

Westen den beweglichen Baldachin, seitdem das erste Exemplar eines solchen Traghimmels aus kostbarem Stoff als Geschenk des Kalifen Harun al-Raschid für Karl den Großen in das Frankenreich gelangt war; man wußte sicher auch, daß er orientalischen Herrschern zum Zeichen ihrer Würde als Schirmdach über den Kopf gehalten wurde, und gewiß war bekannt, daß der byzantinische Kaiser in der Nachfolge der spätantiken Imperatoren als Kosmokrator unter einem, das Himmelszelt symbolisierenden, fest installierten Baldachin thronte. Aber das Vorrecht von Königen, Kaisern und Fürsten und deren engsten Familienangehörigen, unter einem mobilen Baldachin Einzug zu halten, bildete sich offenbar erst seit dem späten 12. Jahrhundert heraus, als die Inhaber der weltlichen Macht einen seit spätestens 1140 am päpstlichen Hof praktizierten, dann auf Kardinäle, Legaten und Bischöfe ausgedehnten, Brauch meist formlos übernahmen.⁴¹

Wenden wir uns nun wieder den konkreten Vorgängen zu. Es versteht sich von selbst, daß die Begrüßung des Herrschers durch die Vertreter der Bürgerschaft auch in Italien nicht erst im ausgehenden Mittelalter zumindest eine kurze Adresse an den Herrscher erforderlich machte: die Herrschaftszeichen — Stadtbanner, Amtsstab oder, besonders häufig beim Empfang des römischen Königs und Kaisers, die Stadtschlüssel⁴² — konnte man ihm schließlich nicht wortlos überreichen. In einer kurzen Ansprache deutete man gewiß an, daß man die sofortige Übergabe der Herrschaftszeichen an den noch ungekrönten Kaiser schon vor dem feierlichen Einzug als ein Zeichen besonderer Treue, die Lohn verdiente, gewertet wissen wollte. Da spielte es keine Rolle, daß die Furcht vor Florentiner Siegen im Jahre 1432 die Bereitschaft zur Reichstreue in Lucca und Siena beträchtlich steigerte, als beide Kommunen sich nur mit äußerster Mühe gegen die Eroberungspolitik der mächtigen Nachbarstadt behaupten konnten.⁴³

Auf den Inhalt solcher Begrüßungsreden wird seit dem 13. Jahrhundert gelegentlich hingewiesen.⁴⁴ Im vollen Wortlaut sind die wenigsten erhalten, ebensowenig übrigens die Dankes- und Abschiedsreden der Herrscher.⁴⁵ Man hält sie als Teil des Zeremoniells für erwähnenswert, lobt seit dem 15. Jahrhundert auch gelegentlich das schöne Latein, in dem sie gehalten wurde oder generell ihr Niveau, geht zuweilen, allerdings mit stereotypen Floskeln,

⁴¹ Treitinger, *Oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, S. 57. Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, Bd. 3, Schriften der MGH 13, 3 (Stuttgart, 1956), S. 717–720, 723–727.

⁴² Das Vorbild für die Schlüsselübergabe war im Mittelalter selbstverständlich Jesu Übergabe der Schlüssel zum Himmel an Petrus (Mt 16, 18).

⁴³ Zu der politischen Dimension des Herrscherempfanges vgl. demnächst Favreau-Lilie, *Regnum Italicum und 'Reich' im Späteren Mittelalter: Das Verhältnis zwischen Recht und Macht* (in Vorbereitung).

⁴⁴ Bei Rolandinus Patavinus, *Cronica in factis et circa facta Marchie Trivixiane*, ed. Antonio Bonardi, RIS NS 8/1:63, ist die Übergabe der Fahne von Padua (als Symbol der Stadtherrschaft) an Friedrich II. 1239 verbunden mit der knappen (wohl fiktiv nachempfundenen) Ansprache eines führenden Vertreters der Kommune.

⁴⁵ Vgl. beispielsweise Russius, *Historia Senensis*, col. 45, der den angeblichen Inhalt der Abschiedsworte Sigismunds an die Bürgerschaft Sienas referiert.

auch auf den Inhalt ein,⁴⁶ nennt die Namen der Redner und ihre Qualifikation:⁴⁷ Die Begrüßungsansprache halten zu dürfen, war eine außerordentliche Ehre. In den unabhängigen, reichsunmittelbaren Kommunen Ober- und Mittelitaliens, die sich der Mediatisierung noch entziehen konnten, wurden diese Reden, solange mit ihnen die Übergabe der Stadtschlüssel verbunden war, bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts wohl nur von einem in lateinischer Rhetorik hinreichend versierten Angehörigen der Stadtregierung gehalten. Vermutlich waren es vor allem gelehrte Juristen, denen man diese ehrenvolle Aufgabe zuwies.⁴⁸ Zwanzig Jahre später, als Friedrich III. seinen Romzug unternahm, war die obligate festliche Begrüßungsrede nicht mehr unbedingt Sache der obersten städtischen Magistrate oder der Stadtherren. Man überließ diese Aufgabe ohne weiteres auch anderen Personen, die durch ihre Bildung, ihr Amt und Ansehen dazu befähigt schienen. So begegnen uns nun gebildete Humanisten ohne politisches Amt in der Stadt, die rhetorisch ausgefeilte, aber politisch bedeutungslose Reden zu Ehren des Reichsoberhauptes halten.⁴⁹ Speziell die Herrscherin durch eine lateinische Rede zu ehren, war jedoch, zumindest um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts, eine Aufgabe, die auch humanistisch gebildete Frauen übernehmen durften. Frauen wie jene Battista Berti aus Siena, eine junge Dame, die mit dem an Rhetorik sehr interessierten Patrizier Achille Petrucci⁵⁰ verheiratet war: Sie durfte aufgrund ihrer für die damalige Zeit ungewöhnlichen Bildung und ihrer gesellschaftlichen

⁴⁶ Johannes Ferrariensis, *Ex annalium libris marchionum Estensium excerpta*, S. 31: Lionello d'Este hielt zu Ehren von Kaiser Sigismund *luculentissima oratio*, für die er mit der Ritterwürde belohnt wurde, der Vertreter Luccas *una bella oratione* (Martini, *Lettera*, S. 12), und auch der Jurist Tommaso Docci als Vertreter der Stadt Siena hielt eine Rede (Petrus Russius, *Historia Senensis*, col. 40 und danach Tommasi, *Historia di Siena*, Bd. 1, fol. 337r). Nach Malavolti, *Historie*, Bd. 2, fol. 24r–v ging es in dieser Begrüßungsrede um die Reichstreue der Stadt: *haveva mostrato con le parole la fedeltà, che haveva osservato sempre quel popolo al sacro Imperio*. Es wurden sicher nicht nur Reden in Prosafassung vorgetragen, sondern auch Preisgedichte, wie etwa jenes, das Sigismund in Perugia gewidmet wurde: M. Fl. Cieco, *Componimento in terza rima offerto all'imperatore Sigismondo in Perugia*, ed. Francesco Bonaini, 'Tre lettere di Sigismondo Imperatore ai Perugini coll'aggiunta di un componimento in terza rima offerto al medesimo quando si posò nella loro città nel 1433 tornando dalla coronazione Romana,' *Archivio storico italiano*, *Appendice 7* (1849), 440–443.

⁴⁷ Zu Ehren Sigismunds sprachen in Ferrara Lionello d'Este, ein Sohn des Markgrafen Nikolaus von Ferrara (Johannes Ferrariensis, *Ex annalium libris marchionum Estensium excerpta*, S. 31), in Lucca und Siena Vertreter des obersten Magistrats (Martini, *Lettera*, S. 12. Russius, *Historia Senensis*, col. 40 [danach Tommasi, *Historia di Siena*, Bd. 1, fol. 337r]). Eine Eintragung im *Libro del Concistoro* (Siena, A. S., *Concistoro, Deliberazioni*, 399, fol. 6r, 16v) zeigt, daß Russius mit Tommaso Docci den Redner zutreffend benannte, da das Konsistorium in der Tat wenige Tage vor dem Eintreffen des Königs festlegte, daß jener Sigismund als erster ansprechen sollte.

⁴⁸ Die Rede in Siena zu Ehren Sigismunds 1432 hielt beispielsweise ein Jurist: Russius, *Historiae Senenses*, col. 40; Tommasi, *Historia di Siena*, Bd. 1, fol. 337r. Siena, A. S., *Concistoro, Deliberazioni*, 399, fol. 6r, 16v.

⁴⁹ Der erste Romzug Friedrichs III. liefert hierfür einige Beispiele. Reden wurden in Padua, Ferrara, Florenz, Siena vor dem König gehalten. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Historia rerum Friderici III*, ed. Anton Franz Kollar, *Analecta monumentorum Vindobonensium 2* (Wien, 1761), col. 232, 234–235; *Diario Ferrarese*, S. 34; Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine*, ed. Luciano Scarabelli, 7 Bände (Torino, 1853), 5:324; Tommasi, *Historia di Siena*, 1, fol. 401v–402r.

⁵⁰ Gianfranco Fioravanti, 'Cultura a Siena nel '400,' in *I ceti dirigenti nella Toscana del*

Position im März 1452 während eines Festes zu Ehren Eleonores von Portugal die Festansprache halten, und sie entschied sich — wie sinnreich in der Situation — für eine Lobrede auf die künftige Kaiserin und auf die Ehe.⁵¹ Sie nahm das Königspaar bekanntlich durch ihr Auftreten so für sich ein, daß es sich bemühte, ihr einen dringenden persönlichen Wunsch zu erfüllen, die Freiheit von der lästigen Luxusordnung der Stadt, die man nur wegen des hohen Besuches vorübergehend außer Kraft gesetzt hatte. Insbesondere Eleonore von Portugal verwandte sich erfolgreich im Interesse der Rednerin beim obersten Magistrat und erreichte, daß die Signoria von Siena ein entsprechendes Privileg erließ, das Battista Berti das dauerhafte Vorrecht garantierte, Kleider und Schmuck nach Belieben tragen zu dürfen.⁵² Zur Gräfin erhob Friedrich III. sie aber wohl nicht.⁵³

Zu einem kaiserlichen Adventus gehörten nicht erst seit Sigismunds Romzug

Quattrocento, Atti del V e VI convegno: Firenze, 10–11 dicembre 1982; 2–3 dicembre 1983, Comitato di studi sulla storia dei ceti dirigenti in Toscana (Firenze, 1987), S. 478–479.

⁵¹ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Historia rerum Friderici III*, col. 272; Fecini, *Cronaca Senese*, S. 864; Agostino Dati, *Senensium historiarum libri tres*, in idem, *Opera* (Siena, 1503), fol. 240v: *a formosa atque erudita virgine...oratio habita est*. Auch Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, Bd. 4, fol. 193v läßt die Rednerin nicht unerwähnt. Malavolti, *Historie*, Bd. 2, fol. 38v hebt hervor, daß *una Battista sposa d'Acchille Petrucci, giovane di creanze e di lettere latine adornata fuore del costume delle altre donne*, die Ansprache auch selbst verfaßt hatte (*havendo fatta e recitata elegante oratione in lode della Imperatrice*). Zur allgemeinen und humanistischen Bildung von Frauen in Europa und speziell im Italien des 15./16. Jahrhunderts vgl. Margaret L. King, 'Die Frau,' in *Der Mensch der Renaissance*, ed. Eugenio Garin (Frankfurt a/M, 1990), S. 326–333 (S. 330–331). Daß die übliche Bildung der Frauen in der Toskana um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts sich keineswegs am klassisch-humanistischen Bildungsideal orientierte, zeigt Luisa Miglio, 'Leggere e scrivere in volgare. Sull'alfabetismo delle donne nella Toscana tardo-medioevale,' in *Civiltà Comunale. Libro, scrittura, documento. Atti del Convegno Genova 8–11 novembre 1988, Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 103, 2 (1989), 355–377. Die offizielle Ansprache zur Begrüßung Eleonores von Aragon bei ihrer ersten Begegnung mit Friedrich III. hatte bekanntlich der Bischof von Siena, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, gehalten (Fecini, *Cronaca Senese*, S. 864).

⁵² Siena, A. S., *Concistoro, Deliberazioni*, 496, fol. 3v, ed. Luigi Fumi e Alessandro Lisini, *L'Incontro di Federigo III Imperatore con Eleonora di Portogallo sua novella sposa e il loro soggiorno in Siena. Narrazione e descrizione storica corredata degli originali documenti* (Siena, 1878), S. 61–62, n° 11. Vgl. Malavolti, *Historie*, Bd. 2, fol. 38v: *havuto intentione dall'Imperadore che domandasse qual gratia volesse, domandò dopo le dovute gratie renduteli di tanta amorevolezza di poter portar le sue veste e gioie nonostante gli statuti che allora s'osservavano, di che a preghi della Imperatrice le fu fatto publico decreto dal Concistoro, come si vede a' libri di quel tempo*. Eine kritische Quellendiskussion fehlt bei Heinz Quirin, 'König Friedrich III. in Siena (1452),' in *Aus Reichstagen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Festgabe*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 5 (Göttingen, 1958), S. 68 Anm. 108. Judith Hook, *Siena: a City and its History* (London, 1979), S. 74; Gianfranco Fioravanti, *Università e città. Cultura umanistica e cultura scolastica a Siena nel '400*, Quaderni di 'Rinascimento' 3 (Firenze, 1980), S. 45. Idem, *Cultura a Siena nel '400*, p. 474. Mario Ascheri, *Siena nel Rinascimento. Istituzioni e sistema politica* (Siena, 1985), S. 52. Offenbar kannten weder Fecini noch Dati und Tizio dieses Privileg.

⁵³ Gelegentlich wird angenommen, daß Friedrich III. Battista Berti den Titel einer Gräfin verliehen hat (Hook, *Siena*, S. 74; Fioravanti, *Università e città*, S. 45; Ascheri, *Siena nel Rinascimento*, S. 52 Anm. 83. Idem, 'Siena nel rinascimento: dal governo di "popolo" al governo nobiliare,' in: *I ceti dirigenti nella Toscana* [wie Anm. 50], S. 428 Anm. 83). Quelle hierfür ist Fecini, *Cronaca Senese*,

auch in Italien die öffentlichen Festlichkeiten, die man nach dem Einzug am Ankunftsstag selbst und an den folgenden Tagen beging. Nur zum geringsten Teil handelte es sich um Schöpfungen des Mittelalters: Glockengeläut und Freudenfeuer,⁵⁴ Musikdarbietungen,⁵⁵ die Vorführung von Reigentänzen⁵⁶ und allgemeine Tanzbelustigungen, Bankette,⁵⁷ Theateraufführungen. Nicht nur politische Gespräche standen auf dem Besuchsprogramm, sondern es war üblich, auch für die Zerstreung des hohen Gastes und seines Gefolges zu sorgen.

Die städtischen Obrigkeiten in Lucca und Siena organisierten und finanzierten in sehr viel größerem Umfang, als es bei früheren Herrscheraufenthalten üblich gewesen war bzw. nachweisbar ist, festliche Bankette und Tanzbelustigungen für den König, sein Gefolge und für die Angehörigen der städtischen Führungsschicht, außerdem Theaterdarbietungen und vieles andere mehr. Nicht von der Hand zu weisen sind Parallelen zu immer noch aktuellen Bräuchen bei Staatsbesuchen, auf deren Programm der Besuch von Opern, Konzert- oder Ballettaufführungen steht. König Sigismund und seine Barone besuchten beispielsweise während ihres Aufenthaltes in Lucca eine, wie der Chronist schreibt, *bellissima rappresentazione* in einer Kirche.⁵⁸ Es muß sich dabei nicht unbedingt um ein an biblischen

S. 864 (*e lo 'nperadore la prese per la mano e félla contessa*), auf dessen Hinweis wohl eine entsprechende Marginalnotiz bei Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, Bd. 4, fol. 193v beruht (*creata comitissa fuit*). Bei Dati, *Senensium historiarum libri tres*, fol. 240v wird ein derartiger Gunsterweis Friedrichs III. nicht erwähnt, eine diesbezügliche Urkunde ist nicht erhalten.

⁵⁴ Zur Bedeutung des Glockengeläutes in Italien seit dem 12. Jahrhundert vgl. Žak, *Musik als Ehr und Zier*, S. 108–120. Von Glockengeläut und Freudenfeuer, dessen Ursprünge in der Antike liegen (Alföldi, *Ausgestaltung*, S. 111–118; Schuberth, *Kaiserliche Liturgie*, S. 58 Anm. 1), wird beispielsweise auch berichtet im Zusammenhang mit dem Empfang Ludwigs des Bayern in Parma (*Chronicon Parmense ab anno 1308–1338*, ed. Giuliano Bonazzi, RIS NS 9/9:202–203) und anlässlich Kaiser Sigmunds Aufenthalt in Perugia 1433 (*Cronaca detta Diario del Graziani*, S. 339, 371).

⁵⁵ Nicht anders als in der Stauferzeit, wurde ohne Musik auch im ausgehenden Mittelalter kein *adventus* zu jenem Ereignis, mit dem man dem hohen Gast *grandissimo honore* erwies, zu jener *grande oder grandissima festa*, von der wir auch in jenen zahllosen Berichten lesen, in denen von Musik oder Instrumenten nicht die Rede ist. Formeln wie beispielsweise *grande festa*, *grandissima festa*, *grandissima allegrezza* waren offenbar so aussagekräftig, daß den Chronisten eine Schilderung der Details entbehrlich schien. Es versteht sich von selbst, daß erzwungene *adventus*, wie jener Friedrichs I. nach dem Fall Mailands etwa oder die Einmärsche Heinrichs VII. in Brescia und Cremona und der Einzug Ludwigs des Bayern in Todi (17.8. 1328) keine frohen Ereignisse waren und Waffengeklirr die Festmusik ersetzte. Zu Musikdarbietungen als notwendiges Attribut des Auftritts beim Herrschereinzug seit dem 12. Jahrhundert vgl. Žak, *Musik als Ehr und Zier*, S. 31–35, 265–266.

⁵⁶ Daß schon in der Spätantike der siegreiche Herrscher durch die Vorführung von Tänzen geehrt wurde, betonte Schuberth, *Kaiserliche Liturgie*, S. 58 Anm. 1.

⁵⁷ Vgl. beispielsweise *Cronaca detta Diario del Graziani*, S. 371. Nikolaus Lanckmann von Falkenstein, *Historia desponsationis et coronationis Friderici III Imperatoris*, ed. Bernhard Pez, *Scriptores rerum Austriacarum* 2 (Wien, 1725), col. 600. Ein Bankett wurde aber ohne weiteres auch für den Stellvertreter des Herrschers arrangiert: Giovanni Sercambi, *Le Croniche*, ed. Salvatore Bongi, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 19:142.

⁵⁸ Giovanni di M. Vincenzo Saminati, *Cronica di Lucca* 5 (1431–1450); Bd. 2 (Lucca, A. S., MS 16): *per alcune memorie antiche della città nostra ritrovo notato con molta corrispondenza descritta...che a 22 di giugno fu fatta una bellissima rappresentazione a Santo Sensio per dar gusto*

Geschichten oder Legenden orientiertes Mysterienspiel gehandelt haben, wie sie im Mittelalter nicht nur in Italien häufig in Kirchen, Klosterkreuzgängen oder auf öffentlichen Plätzen aufgeführt worden sind.⁵⁹ Schon längst nahm sich das Theater auch durchaus weltlicher Stoffe an, um das Publikum zu unterhalten.⁶⁰

Bei den allgemeinen Festlichkeiten tritt nun die weibliche Hälfte der Bürgerschaft, treten die weiblichen Angehörigen der politischen Führungsschicht in den späteren Jahrhunderten des Mittelalters häufiger in Erscheinung als beim Empfang vor der Stadt. Daß Frauen aus vornehmen Familien in der Prozession vor dem Stadttor präsent waren, ist selten. Zumindest in der Stauferzeit erfahren wir von einer solchen Szene äußerst selten.

Damen aus den vornehmen städtischen Geschlechtern durften beim Empfang wohl nur dann nicht fehlen, wenn es galt, entweder die allein reisende römische Königin/Kaiserin oder aber das Herrscherpaar zu begrüßen und in die Stadt zu geleiten. Die weiblichen Angehörigen des jeweiligen Signore und ihre Hofdamen, aber auch die verheirateten Frauen und jungen Mädchen aus den Familien der städtischen Oberschicht fungierten als Gesellschafterinnen der Königin für die Dauer ihres Aufenthaltes.⁶¹ Da Sigismund den Romzug ohne seine Gemahlin, Barbara von Cilli, angetreten hatte, mußte man im Jahre 1432 die vornehmsten Bürgerinnen von Lucca und Siena nicht bitten, ein Ehrengelicht für die Königin zu stellen, sicher zu ihrem lebhaften Bedauern.

Leider notierten die Berichtstatter die weibliche Präsenz längst nicht in jedem Fall. Doch spätestens seit dem 13. Jahrhundert traten die Damen der tonangebenden städtischen Gesellschaft öffentlich und aktiv beim Herrscherempfang in Erscheinung. Vor allem die Schönen, ja später auch die

all'imperatore che con molto diletto intervenne a vederla con molti dei suoi baroni. Die Kirche lag in dem Viertel Porta S. Donato.

⁵⁹ Joachim Bumke, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im hohen Mittelalter* (München, 1990), S. 404–407. 1452 erlebte das Kaiserpaar während seines Besuches in Neapel, der in die Passionszeit fiel, die Aufführung eines solchen Spieles (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Historia Friderici III*, col. 299). Voller religiöser, allegorischer Anspielungen war auch das 'lebende Bild', das man in Siena vor der Kathedrale zu Ehren der gerade eingetroffenen Braut Friedrichs III. arrangiert hatte (Enenkel, *Relation*, S. 314).

⁶⁰ Von den Themen der Stücke, die 1286 in Akkon während der fünfzehntägigen Festlichkeiten aus Anlaß der Krönung König Heinrichs II. von Zypern zum König von Jerusalem gegeben wurden, berichtet ein zeitgenössischer Chronist: Le Templier de Tyr, *Chronique* 439, RHC DArm 2:793. Noch immer aktuell sind für die Verhältnisse in Italien in diesem Zusammenhang die Beobachtungen von Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *De spectaculis et ludis publicis* (*Degli spettacoli e giuochi pubblici de' secoli di mezzo*), in idem, *Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane*, Bd. 2 (Milano, ³1836), S. 365–408 n^o xxix.

⁶¹ Guillelmus de Cortusiis, *Chronica* 11.3, S. 138. *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis* 197, S. 71 (Redaz. A, D). Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, S. 475. Malavolti, *Historie*, Bd. 2, fol. 38v. Vgl. entsprechend zur Betreuung Eleonores von Aragon, Tochter des Königs von Neapel, in Siena durch Ehrendamen, die sie während ihres kurzen Aufenthaltes in der Stadt im Jahre 1473 unterhielten, die Bemerkungen bei Fecini, *Cronaca Senese*, S. 872; Malavolti, *Historie*, Bd. 2, fol. 71r.

klugen Schönheiten, waren gern gesehen, in realem und allegorischem Sinn, zur Zierde ihrer Städte.

Es ist allerdings die Frage, ob sie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert jemals in der Form am Empfang eines römischen Königs und Kaisers teilgenommen haben, wie es uns für das Jahr 1239 berichtet wird: angeblich waren damals zahlreiche kostbar gekleidete Schönheiten aus den vornehmen Familien Paduas an der Begrüßung Friedrichs II. vor Padua beteiligt: Sie ritten, so berichtet unser Chronist, auf geschmückten Pferden im Schrittempo fünf Meilen vor die Stadt und waren zugegen, als die Vertreter der Kommune den Kaiser begrüßten und ihn zum Stadtherrn von Padua ausriefen.⁶²

Als knapp einhundertzwanzig Jahre später, im Januar 1355, Anna von Schweidnitz, die jugendliche Gemahlin Karls IV., auf der Reise nach Rom mit sechzehn Hofdamen nach Padua kam, hielt sie mit viere ihrer Hofdamen auf einem Wagen Einzug. Sie wurde mit den gleichen Ehren empfangen wie Karl IV.:⁶³ unter einem Baldachin, in feierlicher Prozession; die vornehmen Paduanerinnen huldigten ihr und waren für die Dauer ihres Aufenthaltes in der Stadt zuständig für die Unterhaltung der Königin.⁶⁴

Knappe fünfzig Jahre später, im November des Jahres 1401, trafen wenige Wochen nach dem Beginn ihres unvollendet gebliebenen Romzuges, König Ruprecht und seine Gemahlin vor Padua ein.⁶⁵ Dort war man auf ihre Ankunft gut vorbereitet, denn Ruprecht kam immerhin auf Wunsch des Signore von Padua, seines Reichsvikars, in die Stadt: dem Herrscherpaar und seinem Gefolge zogen nicht nur die beiden Markgrafen vor die Stadt entgegen, sondern auch beider Gemahlinnen. Nach der Begrüßung des Königspaares, bevor die feierliche Einzugsprozession sich in Richtung Stadttor in Bewegung setzte, stiegen die beiden Markgräfinnen mit der Königin in den prächtig vergoldeten, von vier Schimmeln gezogenen großen Triumphwagen, dessen Thronszitz der Königin vorbehalten war, während die Damen Carrara ihr zu Füßen saßen. Auf den folgenden acht Wagen geringerer Größe leisteten die Begleiterinnen der Markgräfinnen den königlichen Hofdamen Gesellschaft.⁶⁶

Die Brüder Gatari, denen wir diese Beschreibung verdanken, heben ausdrücklich hervor, daß der Einzug der Königin in einem Vierspänner den Einzug des römischen Kaisers imitierte, wie man ihn aus den Berichten der

⁶² Rolandinus Patavinus, *Cronica*, S. 63.

⁶³ Zum Empfang Karls IV. in Padua vgl. die *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis* 194 (Redaz. A, D), ed. Roberto Cessi, RIS NS 17/1, 2:69.

⁶⁴ Anna von Schweidnitz, am 9. 2. 1354 in Aachen zur römischen Königin gekrönte dritte Gemahlin Karls IV., brach etwas später auf als der König, mit dem sie erst in Lucca wieder zusammentraf. Ihr Einzug in Padua, über den wir zufällig unterrichtet sind, ist ein schönes Beispiel für das Empfangszeremoniell zu Ehren der alleinreisenden Königin. Guillelmus de Cortusiis, *Chronica* 11.3, S. 138. *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis* 197, S. 71 (Redaz. A, D). Emil Werunsky, *Der erste Römerzug Kaiser Karls IV. (1354–1355)* (Innsbruck, 1878), S. 83 Anm. 2.

⁶⁵ Hans F. Helmholz, *König Ruprechts Zug nach Italien* (Jena, 1892), S. 98.

⁶⁶ Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, S. 474–475.

antiken Geschichtsschreiber kannte.⁶⁷ Es ist nicht anzunehmen, daß Ruprecht einen solchen, durch die Goldarbeiten überaus kostbaren, Triumphwagen im Gepäck mit nach Italien genommen hatte. Vielmehr ist wahrscheinlich, daß zumindest der Triumphwagen der Königin vor der Stadt für sie bereitgehalten wurde, wo man sich ohnehin für den Einzug sammeln, vorbereiten und in fester Ordnung aufstellen mußte.

Und als wiederum gut fünfzig Jahre später die Braut Friedrichs III. Eleonore von Portugal im März 1452 nach Siena kam, eilten ihr auch die Frauen und Mädchen in ihren schönsten Kleidern entgegen, um am feierlichen Einzug teilzunehmen, statteten ihr die vornehmen Sienesinnen Höflichkeitsbesuche ab und organisierten für sie und ihr Gefolge Festlichkeiten und allerlei Kurzweil.⁶⁸

Aber auch jenen Frauen und Mädchen, die nicht zu den Auserwählten gehörten, die dem Herrscher oder seiner Gemahlin schon beim Empfang vor der Stadt gegenübertraten, gelang es trotzdem, beim Einzug und auch bei den Wegen des Herrschers durch die Stadt einen Blick auf ihn und seine Begleiter zu werfen, gelegentlich allerdings — wie zum Teil in Florenz beim Einzug Friedrichs III. im Januar 1452 — nur von den Fenstern ihrer Häuser aus.⁶⁹ Aber die Luccesinnen durften Ende Mai 1432 und im folgenden Monat Juni Sigismund auf offener Straße, vor dem Dom zujubeln, den er mehrfach aufsuchte, und ihre Anwesenheit trug auch zum Gelingen der Feste bei, die Lucca für den König ausrichtete. Wie wir aus dem bereits mehrfach zitierten Brief des Bartolomeo Martini erfahren, besuchte Sigismund am Tag nach seinem Einzug in Lucca, am 1. Juni 1432, mit seinem Gefolge und dem obersten Magistrat die Kathedrale der Stadt, wo er vor dem wunderwirkenden Bildnis des Gekreuzigten, dem berühmten Volto Santo, betete und die Messe hörte. Nach dem Kirchgang stieß er auf der Piazza auf eine große Menge von Frauen, darunter angeblich die schönsten der Stadt, die sich dort voll Neugier mit ihren Kindern versammelt hatten, um ihn zu sehen. Der König unterbrach seinen Weg, um zahllose Hände zu schütteln: er begrüßte mit der ihm eigenen liebenswürdigen Freundlichkeit, für die er berühmt

⁶⁷ Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, S. 475: 'Dopo luy venia la inperarixe sopra un indorato carro, tirato da quatro destrieri bianchi, nel modo ch'e scritto nele antiche storie romane.' Zum antiken, von Schimmeln gezogenen Triumphwagen des Kaisers, der bis in die Zeit Kaiser Justinians I. üblich war und durch das kaiserliche Reitpferd im Adventus ersetzt wurde, vgl. Alföldi, *Ausgestaltung*, S. 106–111; Traeger, *Der reitende Papst*, S. 10. Es muß offen bleiben, ob es sich bei den *carrette molto ornate*, in denen nach Piero Buoninsegni, *Historia Fiorentina* 4 (Florenz, 1580), S. 537 die Hofdamen der römischen Königin und vielleicht unerkannt auch diese selbst 1368 Florenz passierten, um Wagen der Art gehandelt hat, wie man sie damals bei einem triumphalen Einzug verwendet hätte.

⁶⁸ Enenkel, *Relation*, S. 314. Der anonyme Verfasser des *Chronicon Senense*, Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Chigiano G. I. 22, fol. 4r, erwähnt 'molti festivi e piacevoli danze...dele donne nostre' zu Ehren Eleonores. Malavolti, *Historie*, Bd. 2, fol. 38v interessierte sich nicht für Details, sondern faßte das für ihn Wesentliche zusammen: *Fu l'imperatrice dalle donne sanesi riverentemente visitata e con feste e giuochi honestamente trattenuata*.

⁶⁹ Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine* 22, Bd. 5, S. 325: *stando a vedere le donne dalle finestre*. Ein Teil der Florentinerinnen aller Altersgruppen und Stände durfte die Begrüßungszeremonien für Friedrich III. und sein Gefolge auf offener Straße erleben (vgl. Enenkel, *Relation*, S. 310).

war, Frauen, Mädchen, Knaben, Alte und Junge. Vor allem den jungen Mädchen konnte der damals sechsendsechzigjährige Herrscher nicht genug Höflichkeit erweisen: er überließ ihnen die Blumenkränze, die seinen Hut zierten, und erhielt von ihnen wiederum Blumen zum Geschenk.⁷⁰ Hoherfreut vermerkt unser Augenzeuge nicht nur, daß die Freundlichkeiten des Kaisers Anstand und Sitte nicht verletzten, sondern daß sich auch die Männer aus seinem Gefolge gegenüber der gesamten Bevölkerung Luccas einschließlich der Mädchen und Frauen äußerst zurückhaltend, ja geradezu engelhaft verhielten. Es gab keine Klagen gegen die Fremden, und es kam nicht zu Zwischenfällen, Tötlichkeiten, die man bei der Einquartierung so zahlreicher Bewaffneter wohl befürchtet hatte.⁷¹ Zwanzig Jahre später, im Januar 1452, bemühten sich die Schönheiten der Stadt Ferrara, die — wenn wir dem kaiserlichen Rat Aeneas glauben können — ihr Stadtherr Borso d'Este herbeigeordnet hatte, auf so vielfältige Weise um die Unterhaltung Friedrichs III. und seiner Begleitung, daß ein anderer Berichterstatter, ein Mönch aus Ferrara, auf die Einzelheiten ihrer Aktivitäten lieber nicht näher eingehen mochte.⁷² Auch in Florenz erwiesen vornehme Damen und deren ledige Töchter, die sich der Prozession angeschlossen hatten, und, von ihnen getrennt, Frauen aus dem Volk dem Habsburger ihre Reverenz, als er durch die Straßen der Stadt zu seinem Quartier zog,⁷³ und ähnlich ging es in Siena zu, wo sowohl beim Empfang Friedrichs III. als auch bei der Begrüßung seiner Braut der weibliche Teil der Bevölkerung, junge Mädchen und verheiratete Frauen, zahlreich vertreten war.⁷⁴

Es kam überdies auch vor, und zwar nicht erst seit dem 14. Jahrhundert, daß jungen Mädchen oder Frauen bei einem Herrscherempfang den Reigen tanzten, musizierten und in szenischen Darstellungen mitwirkten.⁷⁵

Absolut erwünscht waren die jungen Mädchen und verheirateten Frauen aus den führenden Stadtfamilien natürlich immer, wenn es galt, zu Ehren und zur Unterhaltung des Herrschers oder des Herrscherpaares ein Tanzvergnügen für die hohen Gäste und die angesehensten Familien der Stadt auszurichten. Je schöner und jünger desto besser — als Tänzerinnen benötigte man sie dringend, allein schon wegen des ständigen Damenmangels im königlich-kaiserlichen Gefolge. Die wenigen Hofdamen, die allenfalls dabei waren, reichten wohl für keine dieser Veranstaltungen aus.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Martini, *Lettera*, S. 13–14.

⁷¹ Martini, *Lettera*, S. 11.

⁷² Johannes Ferrariensis, *Ex annalium libris marchionum Estensium excerpta*, S. 31.

⁷³ Enenkel, *Relation*, S. 310.

⁷⁴ Enenkel, *Relation*, S. 312, 313.

⁷⁵ Man denke nur an die tanzenden und musizierenden Römerinnen, die gewiß nicht nur beim Empfang des Knaben Konradin (1268) der festlichen Stimmung Ausdruck verliehen (Saba Malaspina, *Rerum Sicularum libri VI*, 4.6, ed. Giuseppe del Re, *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni napoletani editi ed inediti 2* [Napoli, 1868], S. 273), sondern sicher schon bei dem angeblich noch prachtvolleren Einzug Karls von Anjou in Erscheinung getreten waren (ibid. 3.17, S. 240–241), oder an die Gesangs- und Tanzdarbietungen in der Stadt Siena Ende Februar 1452, kurz nach dem Eintreffen der Braut Friedrichs III. (*Anonymi Chronicon Senense*, Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigiano G. I. 22, fol. 4r; Enenkel, *Relation*, S. 314; Fecini, *Cronaca senese*, S. 864).

⁷⁶ Nur sehr selten enthalten die Chroniken Hinweise auf mitreisende Hofdamen: Guillelmus

Bälle dieser Art, festliche Ereignisse im Rahmen von Staatsbesuchen, wo kennt man diesen Brauch heutzutage nicht? Mit Musik wurde der Herrscher, dessen Besuch willkommen war, schon lange vor der Einführung des Balles in Empfang genommen.⁷⁷ Musikalische Darbietungen, die den festlichen Charakter des Einzuges unterstrichen, waren schon im staufischen Italien ein vertrauter Brauch. Die Kommune Padua beispielsweise sandte 1239 nicht nur ihre politischen Vertreter und Bewaffnete dem nahenden Kaiser Friedrich II. entgegen, sondern auch eine kleine Instrumentalistengruppe, die Friedrich *cum cymbalis et citharis et instrumentorum diversis generibus* aufspielte.⁷⁸ In dieser Tradition standen dann auch die musikalischen Darbietungen bei den Herrscherempfängen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Davon ist in den Quellen allerdings nur gelegentlich ausdrücklich die Rede: so beim Empfang Kaiser Heinrichs VII. vor der Stadt Pisa im März 1312, als *ilares plebis hale... instrumentorumque modis ac vocum iubilis applaudentes, gratari vise sunt in adventu regis augusti*,⁷⁹ bei der Ankunft Karls IV. in Mailand Ende Dezember 1354, wo *i suoni delle trombe e trombette e nacchere e cornamuse e tamburini erano tanti che non si sarebbero potuti udire grandi tuoni*,⁸⁰ und in Siena, wo man ihn wenige Monate später, im März 1355,

de Cortusiis, *Chronica* 11.3, S. 138; *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis*, S. 71 (Redaz. A, D); Gatari, *Cronaca Cararese*, S. 475. Buoninsegni, *Historia Fiorentina* 4, S. 537. Unter den Damen des Gefolges der Königin Anna befand sich wohl, worauf schon Werunsky, *Römerzug*, S. 83 Anm. 2 ohne Angabe einer Quelle hinwies, zumindest in Padua die sprachgewandte Witwe eines aus Bologna stammenden, zuletzt in Padua lehrenden Rechtsgelehrten, die dank ihrer guten Kenntnisse der deutschen und der böhmischen Sprache sicher Dolmetscherdienste geleistet hat. Vgl. *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. Giosuè Carducci, Vittorio Fiorini, A. Sorbelli, RIS NS 18/1,3:43–44 (Cronaca A): *cum ella era in compagnia una venerabile donna bolognese, che sapeva bem parlare per lectera et sapeva bem el thodesco e boemo et ytaliano et havea nome madonna Zoanna, figliola che fu de Mathio de' Bianchetti, de strà sam Donato, et era vedoa, et fu moglie de misser Bonsignore di Bonsignuri da Bologna, doctore de lezze*. Identisch ist die Notiz bei Mathaeus de Griffonibus, *Memoriale Historicum de rebus Bononiensium*, ed. Ludovico Trati e Albano Sorbelli, RIS NS 18/2:59. Die für die damalige Zeit mehr noch als für die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts außergewöhnliche klassische Bildung dieser obendrein nach der Überlieferung recht ansehnlichen Dame aus Bologna, die in Padua ansässig geworden war, rühmt besonders Cherubino Ghirardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna*, Bd. 2, ed. Aurelio Agostino Solimani (Bologna, 1657), S. 224: *la qual Donna fu... di bellissimo e raro ingegno e di gran prudenza, e da tutti che la conobbero riputata un miracolo di natura; perciocche ella hebbe l'idioma Tedesco, e il Boemo, come se vi fosse nata; hebbe grandissima cognitione delle lettere Greche e latine e di molte altre scienze, e oltre alla bellezza sua, hebbe cortesi maniere piene di leggiadria*.

⁷⁷ Zur Bedeutung von Musik in diesem Kontext vgl. Žak, *Musik als Ehr und Zier*, passim. Idem, *Luter schal und siēze doene. Die Rolle der Musik in der Repräsentation*, in *Höfische Repräsentation*, ed. Hedda Ragotzki und Henrik Wenzel (Tübingen, 1990), S. 89–132.

⁷⁸ Rolandinus Patavinus, *Cronica*, 4. 9, S. 63.

⁷⁹ Ferretus Vicentinus, *Historia rerum in Italia gestarum ab anno MCCL ad annum usque MCCXXVIII* 5, ed. Carlo Cipolla, in idem, *Opere*, Bd. 2, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 43:33.

⁸⁰ Matteo Villani, *Cronaca* 4. 39, ed. Francesco Gherardi Dragomanni, *Cronica di Matteo e Filippo Villani*, Bd. 5, Collezione di storici e cronisti italiani 5:342.

*con stormenti e con sonagli*⁸¹ empfing, so wie man in Padua wenige Monate zuvor seine Gemahlin *cum omni genere symphonie*,⁸² *cum omni genere musicorum et gaudio permaximo*,⁸³ begrüßt hatte.

Erst im 15. Jahrhundert verbindet man beim Empfang des römischen Königs, aber auch anderer hoher fürstlicher Gäste, Musik und Tanz zu einem offiziellen Ball. Der Ball während des Herrscherbesuches wird zum festlichen Höhepunkt des Herrscheraufenthaltes. Er findet statt nach Erledigung der wichtigsten politischen Geschäfte, er ist das gesellschaftliche Ereignis schlechthin, und die Einladung dazu steigert das gesellschaftliche Ansehen, zumindest in der Einbildung der Betroffenen.⁸⁴

Eine Frage bleibt: Warum eigentlich hören wir im 11., 12. und 13., ja noch im frühen 14. Jahrhundert so häufig von Krieg und Kampfgetöse, warum gibt es so selten in jener Zeit ausführliche zeitgenössische Berichte über friedliche Einzüge römischer Könige und Kaiser, während man sich bei den Berichten über den Empfang der römischen Könige und Kaiser in Italien während des 15. Jahrhundert eher an die galanten Hoffeste eines Sonnenkönigs, Augusts des Starken oder Friedrichs I. von Brandenburg-Preußen erinnert fühlt? Für eine vollständige Antwort fehlt hier der Raum, aber eine kurze Hypothese sei doch gewagt: In der Stauferzeit und teilweise auch noch im 14. Jahrhundert ging es um reale Machtauseinandersetzungen, um die Herrschaft im Regnum Italicum,

⁸¹ Donato di Neri e Nerio di Donatoto di Neri, *Cronaca Senese*, ed. Alessandro Lisini e Francesco Iacometti, *Cronache*, RIS NS 15/6:574.

⁸² Guillelmus de Cortusiis, *Chronica de novitatibus Padue et Lombardie ab anno 1256 usque ad 1364* 11.3, ed. Beniamino Pagnin, RIS NS 12/5:138.

⁸³ *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis* 197 (Redaz. A), S. 71. Redaz. D (ibid.): *con grande allegrezza et ogni generacion de instrumenti*.

⁸⁴ In Lucca veranstaltete man am Tag nach der feierlichen Erneuerung des Treueides auf den künftigen Kaiser *una bella festa nel Palagio de' Borghi*, bei dem auch die weiblichen Mitglieder der vornehmen Familien Luccas zugelassen waren: Martini, *Lettera*, S. 17. Auch in Siena fand ein großes Tanzfest erst statt, nachdem Sigismund Siena zur *camera d'imperio* erklärt und die Angehörigen des obersten Magistrates stellvertretend für die gesamte Bürgerschaft vereidigt hatte; Petrus Russius, *Historiae*, col. 42 (danach Tommasi, *Historia di Siena* 1, fol. 340r); Fecini, *Cronaca Senese*, S. 846; Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, Bd. 4, fol. 138r. Nach der Ankunft Friedrichs III. veranstaltete man in Siena einen solchen Ball nicht unmittelbar im Anschluß an die Erneuerung der Reichsherrschaft über die Stadt (über die Schlüssel- und Fahnenübergabe an Friedrich III. durch den Magistrat Sienas berichtet Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Historia Friderici III*, col. 256), sondern zu Ehren des Herrscherpaares erst nach der Ankunft der königlichen Braut, und man tanzte, um mit Dati, *Historiae Senenses*, fol. 240v zu sprechen, *cytharis fidibus atque tubis concinentibus*. Vgl. auch die Hinweise im Anonymi *Chronicon Senense* (Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigiano G. I. 22), fol. 4r und bei Fecini, *Cronaca*, S. 864. Die Schilderung bei Enenkel, *Relation*, S. 314 läßt vermuten, daß Musikanten nicht nur im Rathaus zur Unterhaltung und zum Tanz für die aus adligen Gästen und Mitgliedern der lokalen Oberschicht bestehende geschlossene Gesellschaft aufspielten, sondern auch andernorts in der Stadt die Bevölkerung unterhielten und zu Tanz und Gesang animierten (*ward da groß frolocken...in der ganzen stat mit hofieren, tantzen, singen*). Bei Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, Bd. 4, fol. 193v ist nur vom schönen Klang der Instrumentalmusik die Rede, die während des Festes gespielt wurde und von einem Bankett, nicht aber von Tanz.

um die Verteidigung der Ansprüche der lokalen, der regional begrenzten Mächte gegen die universellen Ansprüche der römischen Könige und Kaiser von jenseits der Alpen. Aber nach dem Interregnum galt ein solcher Machtanspruch in Italien kaum noch etwas, da Heinrich VII. und seine Nachfolger aufgrund ihrer finanziellen und der sich daraus ergebenden militärischen Schwäche nicht imstande waren, ihren Ansprüchen auch hinreichenden Nachdruck zu verleihen. Der Machtanspruch der Reichsgewalt in Italien konnte ernsthaft nichts mehr gelten in einer Zeit, als die Herrscher schon Mühe genug hatten, sich in ihrem eigentlichen Machtbereich nördlich der Alpen durchzusetzen und zu halten. Auch wenn man weiterhin die Ansprüche und Rechte in Italien betonte, ja sie niemals aufgab, so war doch, von sehr wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, ihre kriegerische Durchsetzung nicht mehr möglich. So wurden die wenigen Italienzüge römischer Könige und Kaiser im 15. Jahrhundert definitiv zu einer Prestigefrage. Sie boten Gelegenheit zur Selbstdarstellung, nicht nur für die verschiedenen reichsunmittelbaren und mediatisierten Städte, die von den Herrschern besucht wurden und beeindruckt werden sollten,⁸⁵ sondern auch für diese selbst. Könige und Kaiser ließen sich die in den Prozessionen augenfällige städtische Prachtentfaltung, die mancherorts schon im 13. Jahrhundert erste Züge der Renaissance erkennen läßt und im 15. Jahrhundert durch die zunehmende Bedeutung dekorativer Elemente auch bei der Gestaltung der Prozessionsroute noch gesteigert wurde, um so lieber gefallen, als ein prunkvoller Empfang ihre reale Machtlosigkeit zu überdecken half.

⁸⁵ Ventrone, 'Forme dello spettacolo toscano,' S. 515.

Ferrante I of Naples, Pope Pius II and the Congress of Mantua (1459)

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I

When Ferrante (Ferdinand) I succeeded his father Alfonso the Magnanimous on the throne of Naples in the Summer of 1458, he took the full range of titles appertaining to a king ruling over southern Italy: *Rex Sicilie, Jerusalem et Hungariae*. Of these, the title to Jerusalem dated back to Charles I of Anjou's purchase from Maria of Antioch in 1277, while that to Hungary was more recent, and was based on Alfonso's claim to be the heir to Joanna II of Naples, who was herself the heiress to Ladislas of Naples and Hungary. It is fair to say that Ferrante made little practical use of the Hungarian title even at the start of his royal career, when he insisted, from the time of his accession, that his primary aim was not to recreate his father's vast empire, but simply to make a reality of his rule in Naples and southern Italy, in the face of the opposition of the second house of Anjou-Provence led by Duke René of Lorraine: 'he says he has only this realm, nor does he have it in mind to gain others, but only to confirm himself in this one,' as the Milanese ambassador to Naples, Antonio da Trezzo, reported to his master Francesco Sforza.¹ Later in Ferrante's life, the Hungarian connection became important in different ways: far from pressing the Aragonese claim to Hungary, Ferrante entered into a marriage alliance with King Matthias Corvinus, sending his daughter Beatrice from Naples to become queen of Hungary.² Matthias, like Ferrante, needed wider approval for his royal

¹ Archivio di Stato di Milano, Sforzesco Potenze Estere, Napoli [hereafter ASMi, SPE], cartella 198, c45-6, 13 July 1458. See David Abulafia, 'The Inception of the Reign of King Ferrante I of Naples: The Events of Summer 1458 in the Light of Documentation from Milan,' in David Abulafia (ed.), *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95. Antecedents and Effects* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 82. For the start of Ferrante's reign see the lengthy study by E. Nunziante, 'I primi anni di Ferdinando d'Aragona e l'invasione di Giovanni d'Angiò,' *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 17 (1892), 299-357, 564-586, 731-776; 18 (1893), 3-40, 207-246, 411-462, 563-620; 19 (1894), 37-96, 300-353, 419-444, 596-658; 20 (1895), 206-264, 442-513; 21 (1896), 265-289, 494, 532; 22 (1897), 47-64, 204-240; 23 (1898), 144-210.

² Nevertheless, Ferrante announced that he had 'pres pacificament e quiete de continent la veu, nom, titol e exercici de Rey de Sicilia, deça Far, de Hierusalem e Ongria,' going on to say that he had taken control of the castles, lands and islands due to him, by which from the context he can only mean what was due to him in southern Italy: Abulafia, 'Inception,' p. 77. For Beatrice of Aragon, see the rather dated work of E. Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona* (abridged Italian translation, Milan, 1931, 1974).

title, and the association of these two figures was further enhanced by Matthias's affection for Italian Renaissance culture.³ But both Naples and Hungary were kingdoms that lay close to the expanding power of the Turks, and the protection of these lands from the Ottoman threat became a major interest of the late fifteenth-century papacy.

Despite declared interest in the East, Alfonso of Aragon is usually seen as a ruler whose major concern was not the crusade against the Turk so much as self-glorification, as the new Roman Emperor (in all but name), cast in a classical mould. Yet the Eastern policy of Alfonso was only partly empty show: in 1447 Alfonso entered into a draft agreement with John Hunyadi for the defence of the Balkans against the Turks, but instead of sending the promised troops on crusade, he used them against the Florentines, which helped make more certain the defeat of the Hungarians at the second battle of Kossovo (1448).⁴ Such deviations of crusade resources to other objectives had a long history in southern Italy, since the time of the early Angevins. There also developed a fantastic plan to dethrone Emperor Constantine Palaiologos and to make either Alfonso or Demetrios Palaiologos Byzantine emperor, whereupon what little remained of the empire would be partitioned between these two victors. Finally, Alfonso showed himself willing to give practical help to the Albanian rebel George Kastriotis 'Scanderbeg',⁵ and it was Scanderbeg who later on saved Ferrante's throne by conducting a relentless war of attrition against the Angevins under John of Calabria in the years between John's rout of the supporters of Aragon at the battle of the Sarno (1460) and Ferrante's victory over his opponents at Troia (1462).⁶ The bonds that were created between Scanderbeg and the Aragonese dynasty in Naples thus had a crucial effect on the survival of the dynasty. To outside observers, though, Alfonso was bound to seem one of the few Western rulers with any practical interest in the war against the Ottomans. The letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini spoke of Alfonso as the liberator of Greece from the Muslim threat: 'cum redieret Alphonsus subactis Turcis, liberata Grecia et spolia illa cruenta, nephandique Mahumeti caput retulerit...'⁷ He was excited by plans to

³ On Matthias, see I. Ackerl, *König Matthias Corvinus: ein Ungar, der in Wien regierte* (Vienna, 1985); M.D. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World* (Columbus, Ohio, 1986); R. Feuer-Tóth, *Art and Humanism in Hungary in the Age of Matthias Corvinus* (Budapest, 1990); T. Klaniczay, *Matteo Corvino e l'umanesimo italiano* (1974), among other works; I am most grateful to Peter Burke for advising me on the available non-Magyar literature.

⁴ A. Ryder, 'The eastern Policy of Alfonso the Magnanimous,' *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, n.s. 28 (1979), 7–25.

⁵ A.F.C. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous. King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 303–304.

⁶ On Scanderbeg, see F.S. Noli, *George Castrioti Scanderbeg* (New York, 1947; the Albanian edition is of 1967: an extraordinary tribute in Albania's Dark Age to a bishop and scholar who won respect even from the Hoxha régime). On the events of 1460–62, see my brief outline in the introduction to *The French Descent*, p. 6.

⁷ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini [Pope Pius II], *Opera quae exstant omnia* (Basel, 1571; the 1551 edition is largely identical in text and pagination), p. 497, *In triumphum Alphonsi*.

launch a Catalan fleet which would succour the suffering Greeks, describing this as 'pium opus sanctumque,' and the idea that Alfonso would launch a combined operation, utilising both land and sea forces, stayed with him.⁸

There were other ways in which the avowed interest of the Aragonese kings of Naples in the Eastern Mediterranean made it possible for them to retain their throne. The intention here is to examine one significant episode in Ferrante's early career as king when crusading, Neapolitan politics and the peace of Italy as a whole were all major issues: the Congress of Mantua called by Pope Pius II in 1459, while Ferrante was still facing internal opposition (led by John of Calabria's allies), in the hope of concerting opposition to the Turks in the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople. The course of events at the Mantua Congress has been described several times, and does not need to be repeated here.⁹ What is at issue is the aims of some key participants. Steven Runciman's *History of the Crusades* announces Pius II as 'the last crusader';¹⁰ more recent work has rightly insisted on the importance of crusades for over a century beyond Pius II's failed initiative at Ancona (1464);¹¹ and yet it is clear that crusading remained a very high priority for this pope, whose private *Commentaries* offer unrivalled insights into his thinking on the Turkish Question, which will be examined further shortly.¹² Pius was a tireless publicist for the defence of Europe against the Turks.¹³ The Congress of Mantua foreshadowed Pius' massive disappointment at the failure of Western armies and navies to support his crusade in 1464.¹⁴ The difficulty was that of convincing Western rulers of the urgency of war against the Turks, at a time when there was a temptation to use the occasion for political ends, in order

⁸ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Opera omnia*, p. 483.

⁹ L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. F.I. Antrobus, vol. 3 (London, 1894), pp. 45–101, and the items mentioned in note 14 infra.

¹⁰ Runciman, *Crusades* 3:467.

¹¹ Especially N. Housley's fundamental *The Later Crusades. From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1990).

¹² References here are to the impressive version of *The Commentaries of Pius II. Books II and III*, trans. F.A. Gragg and ed. L.C. Gabel, published in *Smith College Studies in History*, vol. 25 (1939/40). *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope. The Commentaries of Pope Pius II* (New York, 1959) is an abridged version from the same editors, republished as *Secret Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope* (London, 1988). On the career of Pius, see also C.M. Ady, *Pius II (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini). The Humanist Pope* (London, 1913), especially pp. 125–131 for Aeneas' reaction to the fall of Constantinople; R.J. Mitchell, *The Laurels and the Tiara. Pope Pius II 1458–1464* (London, 1962); B. Widmer, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Papst Pius II.* (Basel, 1960), especially the documents on pp. 446–467.

¹³ Pius II, *De captione urbis Constantinopolitane* (Rome, 1480); modern edition by A. Deagüine (Paris, 1965). See also any collection of his letters: the Parma edition of 1473 contains Pius' exhortation to become a Christian [letter 7].

¹⁴ An up-to-date account of the Congress is desirable. See meanwhile J.C. Russell, *Diplomats at Work. Three Renaissance Studies* (Stroud, Glos., 1992), pp. 51–93, a chapter tellingly entitled 'The Humanists Converge: the Congress of Mantua,' and G. Picotti, *La dieta di Mantova e la politica de' Veneziani* (Venice, 1912); Ady, *Pius II*, pp. 156–181; Mitchell, *Laurels and Tiara*, pp. 133–163; Widmer, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, pp. 102–108, 234–259.

to achieve peace in Italy and the exclusion of unwelcome intruders (such as John of Calabria and his father René).

Such an impression is arguably confirmed by the lack of any substantial reference to the Turks in the voluminous correspondence passing between Naples and Milan at this period, either in the letters written, often in his own hand, by King Ferrante, or in the ambassadors' reports such as the extraordinarily detailed ones left by the Milanese agent in Naples, Antonio da Trezzo, who knew the king's mind extremely well. In the correspondence of 1459, references to the Turks are thin indeed: on 10 April, Bianca Maria Visconti, duchess of Milan, wrote to Ferrante and to Queen Isabella of Naples to tell them that she had been impressed by a visit from a prominent Hospitaller of Rhodes 'per munitione e defensione de Rhodi contra lo impio Turco... per tanto per respecto della christiana religione la quale meritamente debbe esser aiutata...'¹⁵ The feelings were positive, but there was little sign of genuine action. In the Milanese documentation, the main concern of the Aragonese in Naples is shown to be, not surprisingly, the securing of the throne at a time when several barons were known or suspected to be sympathetic to the Angevins, especially Giovanni del Balzo Orsini, the powerful Prince of Taranto: if anyone had reason to fear the Turks it was perhaps this baron, with lands on the Adriatic and Ionian Sea almost within sight of Turkish territory, and yet we find him being openly accused of flirting with a Turkish alliance; more of this shortly. Nor did the Sforzas of Milan appear worried that their Duchy of Bari was under threat from the Turks, though the use to which they put their south Italian lands mainly consisted in glorying in the ducal title they brought. Francesco Sforza made plain his moral support for the papacy, even extending it to material support in the form of three fine steers delivered daily to grace the pope's table at Mantua; but he, like the king of Naples, had a local agenda, on which the top item was the need to secure his claim to Milan, conquered only in 1450. A letter from his agent Otto di Carretto sent on 1 December from Mantua to Milan makes plain the interest of the Milanese in the Angevin attempts to unseat Ferrante by diplomatic pressure on the pope.¹⁶ Yet it was abundantly clear to all Western rulers that the way to the pope's heart lay in supporting his crusade schemes. Pius II had moved fast to assure Ferrante of his support after his election to the papal throne; this followed a disappointing experience when Calixtus III, a Borgia who owed his career to Alfonso the Magnanimous, refused to acknowledge the claim of Ferrante to the Kingdom of Naples, not so much because he was illegitimate as because, so Pius II himself believed, Calixtus hoped to give the *Regno* to his own nephew.¹⁷

¹⁵ ASMi, SPE, cartella 200, c214.

¹⁶ Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, doc. 35, pp. 393–395.

¹⁷ *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope*, pp. 78–79: 'It was common talk that he intended to place his nephew Borgia on the throne.' This remark is one of the 'secret' entries in the *Commentaries* which Gragg and Gabel restored (on the basis of the Vatican MS) after they had been edited out of the early published editions.

There do, however, survive several letters from Ferrante to Pius II, written at the time of the Mantua Congress, and preserved in two valuable sources. One is a *Register Exterorum* of King Ferrante to be found, for some reason, in Paris.¹⁸ This manuscript also contains instructions to Ferrante's own ambassadors at the congress, including the archbishop of Benevento, who behaved well as Ferrante's spokesman, even though soon afterwards he revealed himself to be an Angevin loyalist.¹⁹

The second set of letters is even more of a puzzle. Published in 1586 in the bay of Naples, it consists of several dozen Latin letters under King Ferrante's name, and a good many letters by Antonio Beccadelli Panormita, the Sicilian humanist and Neapolitan royal secretary at the start of Ferrante's reign, earlier famous for his bizarre obscenity of 1425 entitled *Hermaphroditus*. The time span is from 1452 (a letter of advice to the young Ferrante from his father Alfonso, when Ferrante was about to leave for a military expedition into Tuscany) to 1464 or thereabouts, after Beccadelli had already retired from the front line of government service.²⁰ Panormita himself wrote many of the Latin letters sent out by Ferrante, and Bentley is therefore reasonably justified in actually listing this collection under Beccadelli's name in the bibliography to his valuable survey of cultural life at the Aragonese court of Naples.²¹ The preface gives only the briefest explanation of why the collection was put together: 'ho fatto stampare queste non contrarie alle virtù, salute dell'anime, e culto divino.' The anonymous editor complains that the letters are only of 'bassa latinità', but clearly believes they will have a didactic use, if not for their style (which in reality is fairly elevated) it seems for the sentiments they express. The editor seeks to find inspirational material rich in Christian piety, and here the emphasis placed on the Congress of Mantua and on the war against the Turks is noticeable, presumably reflecting the editor's own preoccupations in the twenty-one years which had seen the siege of Malta, the victory at Lepanto and the recent Portuguese disaster in Africa under King Sebastian. The volume concludes with a *Deploratio ad tumultum Christi redemptoris nostri* which emphasizes in its closing verses the insolence of the Turks:

Per tumultum, saevo per condita membra sepulchro

¹⁸ Arm.-Ad. Messer, *Le Codice aragonese* (Paris, 1912) [hereafter cited as Cod. arag.]. The reason it is in Paris is discussed, though inconclusively, by Messer: Cod. arag., pp. lxxxviii-xc.

¹⁹ Pius II, *Commentaries* [Smith College edition], part 2, p. 228: 'King Ferrante of Sicily had sent the archbishop of Benevento (*who was later removed on account of his crimes*);' and see p. 228, n. 61.

²⁰ Beccadelli died in 1471. See A.F.C. Ryder, 'Antonio Beccadelli: A Humanist in Government,' in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. C.H. Clough (Manchester, 1976), pp. 123-140.

²¹ *Regis Ferdinandi et aliorum epistolae ac orationes utriusque militiae* [hereafter cited as RFE] (apud Iosephum Cacchium, Vico Equense, 1586); I consulted the copy in the British Library, where the printed text begins with a title page on p. 291 and ends on p. 445, but the work is complete and whatever came before clearly concerned other matters; cf. J.H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, NJ, 1987), p. 304 for the attribution to Beccadelli.

Da pater, ut longum regnis diminetur avitis
 Rex noster, terræ nutu qui terreat orbem
 Rex iustus iusti, ac fidei defensor, et ultor,
 Qui possit sævos armis contundere Turcas,
 Barbara qui patrijs incendia prouat aris,
 Hunc fove, ut invictum venerentur secula regem,
 Tuque poli, hic Terræ felix moderetur habenas,
 Successorque tuus mundi omnes nutriat unus.²²

This poem calls to mind the image of the Aragonese court gathered weeping after the deposition from Christ from the cross, sculpted in life-size terracotta by Guido Mazzoni at the end of Ferrante's reign, and preserved in the Neapolitan church of Monteoliveto. In any case, it was possible to make a case using the Latin correspondence of Ferrante and Panormita for Neapolitan interest in the struggle against the Turks at the time of the Congress of Mantua.

II

Recent historians have seized on the healthy scepticism of Alan Ryder about Alfonso of Aragon's crusade plans to attach similar labels to King Ferrante. Jerry Bentley has pointed out how well Panormita's speech at the Congress of Mantua matched current Neapolitan diplomatic objectives. Bentley argues that Panormita's aim was to excuse Ferrante from participation in a crusade, since his need to establish himself as ruler of southern Italy and internal peninsular squabbles (notably with Sigismondo Malatesta, ruler of Rimini) made foreign war impossible. Or rather, there was a foreign war in progress, that against the French and the Angevins, who were trying to maintain a foothold in Genoa. It was entirely desirable that there should be a campaign against the Turks, but Ferrante solicited papal aid in freeing Italy and protecting the *Regno* against Christian foes before a war against the Turks was feasible. Such an argument was in accord with the spirit of the Peace of Lodi of 1454 and with the subsequent adherence of Naples to the Italian Peace, one of whose fundamental aims was declared to be the preparation of Italy for the anti-Turkish crusade, a declaration that historians have been tempted not to take very seriously: 'neither Alfonso nor any other fifteenth-century European could openly disavow the crusade, but Alfonso sought consistently to impede an expedition that would divert resources from his other projects.'²³ And yet, as Bentley points out, crusading propaganda had been readily available at court in the last years of King Alfonso, in reaction to the fall of Constantinople: an oration of Andrea Contarini, a poem of Orazio Romano (who also solicited Francesco Sforza's aid), and other works. Niccoló Sagundino (himself a Greek) and Flavio Biondo provided what Bentley calls

²² RFE, p. 445.

²³ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, p. 165.

'truly intelligent advice for a crusade' to set against the unrealistic pieties of other writers. Sagundino was best placed to report on the ambitions of Mehmet the Conqueror, and the genuine threat the sultan posed to Italy once he had taken Constantinople, while Biondo was able to provide a survey of recent Ottoman history and to offer detailed advice how to plan a joint land and sea campaign against the Turk. Other humanists such as Francesco Filelfo, resident for a time in Milan, showed a good knowledge of the early history of the Turks. Actually, humanists were by no means averse to spreading the crusading message. The close contact with Byzantine scholars settled in Italy made them all the more aware of the Turkish presence, while the Florentine chancellor Benedetto Accolti even presented the world with a history of the crusades beginning with the First Crusade and taking the story through to the Turkish threat in his own time.²⁴ The humanist of Novara, Pietro Apollonio Collazio, dedicated his verse letters calling for a crusade to contemporary rulers such as Pius II (in first place) as well as to Ferrante, to Charles VII of France, to the Dauphin Louis, to Francesco Sforza and others.²⁵

Was Panormita any more loyal to the crusade ideal than Alfonso, at least as that ruler is generally presented? Pius II wanted to believe in him, it seems; he wrote to him expressing the hope that 'ita Iesus optimus maximus te doctis, et bonis viris diutissime conservet, ac Turcarum triumphator efficiat.'²⁶ It is possible to portray him as a devious manipulator who was trying on the one hand to present Alfonso (and Ferrante) as champions of the crusade, while on the other hand he set conditions for participation that ruled out any likelihood of a crusade actually taking place.²⁷ Panormita recognised that the crusade was an important political priority, but it was indeed absurd for him to present his king as more zealous for the crusade even than Pope Calixtus III. Rather than allowing the pope to blame the king for supporting the condottiere Jacopo Piccinino, and thus upsetting the peace of central Italy, Beccadelli argued that the war captain should have his way (which would have meant creating a statelet around Assisi) and that the papacy was diverting to Italian projects energy which belonged to the Turkish war. Such sophistry was supposedly taken a stage further when the humanist also offered the Portuguese facilities in Neapolitan ports if only they would launch a war against the Ottomans.²⁸

What is difficult with Bentley's interpretation is quite simply that it starts from a position of incredulity, as if a humanist could not seriously have wanted to promote the crusade and as if *Realpolitik* demanded that the crusade was only a façade for ambitions within Italy. It therefore needs to be stressed that the greatest

²⁴ Robert Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 224–285.

²⁵ Black, *Accolti*, p. 236.

²⁶ RFE, p. 395.

²⁷ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, p. 166.

²⁸ The Vatican MS studied by Bentley, Barb. Lat. 2070, containing diplomatic writings of Panormita, has not so far been seen by me.

enthusiast for crusading at this time was indeed the outstanding humanist Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, and his accession to the papal throne soon after Ferrante's own succession in Naples created an intimate alliance which all historians agree made possible the survival of Ferrante as king of Naples, in the face of Angevin counter-claims. Aeneas Sylvius had already corresponded with Alfonso about the crusade before 1458, and he had sought in particular to persuade Panormita to use his influence on the king to good effect:

Suade igitur Antoni, suadere omnes, quibus aperte sunt regis aures, ut relicto Picinino pacem Tusciae restituat. Sic enim assumptis in Turcas armis, Christianorum nomen ut est ab eo vulgatum, et tueri et amplificare poterit.²⁹

Pius was also aware that Turkish advances posed a direct threat to Apulia, and that the defence of the coast of Albania was essential if a front line were to be created capable of holding the Ottomans back from Italy; as he told Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa:

Albanie partem Turchi tenent; quid, si nunc victoriam prosequantur? quo pacto Turchorum potentie Durachium resistet, cui Constantinopolis par esse non potuit? inde Brundisium ex parte Italie vicinum quis tuebitur? claudent Adriaticum sinum, magna jactura Veneti nominis, sed majore Christianitatis, que superatis Venetis non habet amplius maris imperium, neque Cathalani aut Genuenses, quamvis potentissimi sunt, sine Venetis pares potuerunt esse Turchis, satis erit illis Affricanorum molestias et assiduos compescere impetus, quibuscum perpetuis contentionibus agitantur.³⁰

How important really was the crusade in the relationship between pope and king? It is worth suggesting here that historians of Renaissance Italy have generally been too sceptical of the 'medieval' crusading outlook of rulers and humanist scholars alike. Benedetto Accolti's case was far from unusual, as has been hinted already. Equally, it would be foolhardy to insist that crusading was as high a priority for the increasingly embattled Ferrante as it ever was for Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. A balanced view suggests that Ferrante was neither unaware of the need for a crusade nor incorrect in his insistence that nothing could be achieved unless Italy was first at peace; and Pius II entirely agreed with this approach.

Certainly, a letter of 9 November 1459 to the pope from Ferrante, styling himself *Dei gracia Sicilie, Hierusalem et Hungarie Rex*, revealed an acute awareness of the papacy's current priorities: he stated that his emissary had been told to confirm that Ferrante was ready to produce however much money was necessary 'ad tam pium opus contra perfidos Turchos tollendos exterminandos que parentur,' whether from ecclesiastical or from secular sources, in the form of twentieths or thirtieths.³¹ But the problem, Ferrante made clear, was that he still needed papal help in setting the kingdom to rights:

²⁹ *Opera omnia*, p. 497: in orationem pro suscipiendo in Turcas bello.

³⁰ Widmer, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, p. 450.

³¹ Emending *teesimas* in Cod. arag., no. 261, p. 336, into *trecesimas*.

si quando divino auxilio Vestreque Sanctitatis suffragio dictum regnum in quietum dabitur, ipsa intelliget, subditis ac facultatibus omnibus meis proinde ac obedientissimi S.V. filii uti posse.

Another letter of the same date was sent to Pope Pius in which Ferrante dropped strong hints that his current concerns were so weighty that other schemes could not win his attention. Such objections to participation in an immediate crusade were all the more convincing, Ferrante was aware, in view of the departure from Genoa of the fleet carrying John of Calabria and the armies of King René intent on the conquest of the *Regno*.³² Writing the next day to the archbishop of Benevento, his emissary to the pope, Ferrante stressed that he would serve the pope loyally 'reducendo queste cose ad tranquillitate et pace,' the archbishop was to emphasize the extraordinary gratitude the king felt for the support Pope Pius had shown him.³³ Nor were the Angevins the only difficulty making it hard for Ferrante to offer aid against the Turks: severe difficulties with Sigismondo Malatesta, the foes of Ferrante's ally Federico da Montefeltro, were upsetting the peace of the Papal State. The royal emissary Antonio Cicinello was advised to keep very close watch on the negotiations with the lord of Rimini.³⁴ Ferrante was in close contact with the count of Urbino over this matter, too.³⁵ An important issue raised in Ferrante's letters to the pope was the king's filial duty to his suzerain. Ferrante lost no opportunity to stress his *obedientia*, for this was also an important key to his legitimacy: he, and not René, ruled with papal approval, as the pope was emphatically to remind the French during the Congress of Mantua.³⁶ It is thus not surprising that Ferrante's instructions to Enrichetto de Fustis, baron of Muro, sent as royal orator to Mantua, should begin from the assumption that the peace of Italy could only be obtained if 'lidicti Françosi siano expulsi et caçate de ladicta cita de Genoa et de Italia', because they are 'una de le principale cause de lo disturbo de la pace et quiete de Italia.'³⁷ The baron of Muro was to move on to Genoa itself and to make contact there with the vigorous pro-Aragonese faction.³⁸

In the collection *Regis Ferdinandi epistolae* virtually all material is undated, and it is necessary to bear in mind the context and the order of presentation

³² Cod. arag., pp. 336–337, doc. 262.

³³ Cod. arag., p. 338, doc. 263.

³⁴ Cod. arag., p. 339, doc. 264; P.J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 186, 193, 210–211, 222, 224. Cf. Cod. arag., p. 274, doc. 209; and for Cicinello pp. 288–289, doc. 222 in particular.

³⁵ Cod. arag., pp. 238–239, doc. 182; pp. 282–283, doc. 217. See on relations with Urbino the valuable study by C.H. Clough, 'Federico da Montefeltro and the Kings of Naples: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Survival,' *Renaissance Studies* 6 (1992); but the documentation on this relationship is vast.

³⁶ See below for the speeches made by Pius and by the French and Neapolitan delegations in the later stages of the Congress.

³⁷ Cod. arag., p. 268, doc. 204.

³⁸ Cod. arag., p. 269, doc. 204.

when trying to assign a rough date. An early letter associated with the Mantua Congress, addressed by the king to Pope Pius, presents Ferrante as a genuine enthusiast for the crusade:

Itaque, et quod dissentionem hanc omnem omnino, et causam gravioris tumultus in Italia sustulimus, iuxta cum S. tua lætamur, et quod pro hac expeditione erimus ad obtemperandum voluntati, et iussibus S. eiusdem, præcipue in expeditionem contra Turcas suscipiendum. Ad quam quidem prout tua S. iusserit, deque me statuerit, ita me pro viribus exhibuero, hilarem quidem, et promptum.³⁹

Nor was Ferrante blind to the need to convince other Italian powers than the papacy of his formal commitment to the war against the Turks. The Venetians, who had the most obvious doubts about the desirability of a crusade, and who were known to take a guarded view of the Neapolitan-Milanese alliance which had emerged since 1455, were sent an address by Beccadelli: while the Turks were led by blind greed from Asia into Europe, so the *Galli* were bringing their own greedy war into Italy, particularly by way of Genoa.⁴⁰ Here the aim was to unsettle the Doge by reminding him that the fate of Genoa affected that of Venice. But it can hardly be said that the reference to the Turks, hostile though it was, constituted a clarion call to crusade. A letter in Ferrante's own name to the Doge did, however, emphasize the dire fate of the Balkan nations, and urged the Venetians to take up arms.⁴¹ Ferrante insisted that he would stand shoulder to shoulder with the Venetians, for he had every intention of following where his own father had pointed:

Nihilque optabilius, aut potius nobis a Deo dari concupiscimus, quam occasionem, et facultatem exequendi, quod ab optimo, ac religiosissimo patre nostro Alfonso in impium, ac detestabilem Turcarum ducem in coeptum extiterit.⁴²

Writing to John II, king of Aragon, Ferrante's uncle, Panormita became even more eloquent than in the letter to the Doge:

Quid nunc Genuenses facturos existimas Gallorum belli socios, ac prædæ avidos? certe traducturos ex regno Neapolitano in Siciliam Gallis, quippe non veriti sunt Turcas ex Asia in Europam traducere, Christumque obiurare, pecunia, et execrabili avaritia corrupti, parant iterum nunc Genuenses cum Gallis classem...⁴³

The Paris manuscript contains instructions for the duke of Andria and for Matteo di Riccio, another of the royal ambassadors sent to present Ferrante's case at the Mantua Congress. Here Ferrante shows a more acute awareness of the rationale behind the congress: 'recordateli lo facto de Costantinopoli,' says the king, but he also wants his ambassador to make plain the danger facing the crown from

³⁹ RFE, p. 301-302.

⁴⁰ RFE, p. 313.

⁴¹ RFE, p. 367.

⁴² RFE, p. 367.

⁴³ RFE, p. 321.

unrest in Calabria, which was being stimulated by the prince of Taranto.⁴⁴ If the pope was not disposed to give his assent to Jacopo Piccinino's attempts to carve out a statelet in Umbria, so be it: 'non ni par possibile posserlo mantenere.' The financial strain was pressing; in other words, there was little left for other enterprises until the prince of Taranto had been properly disciplined.⁴⁵ The condottiere would have to be sacrificed if that was the way to keep the pope's friendship. But this did not mean that the Turkish problem was out of sight:

Item eldicto fra Matheo dira a la predicta Santità, che, volendo intendere in la facenda del Turco, volla primo mectere pace in casa sua, che e questa et non nixuna altra, et como a capo de la Lega et Signore principale de quisto Regno, non ni pare sia expediente la Santità Sua si sera piu a vedere et specialmente havendoni facto la Sua Senyoria quel che ha et non havendo yo altro ferma confidança, che in quella per infinite rajone.⁴⁶

An oration delivered at the Congress, preserved in the *Regis Ferdinandi epistolæ*, starts by stressing the *insolentia* of the Turks, but passes immediately to the problems caused by the Genoese and by Sigismondo Malatesta within Italy. These were part of a legacy passed down to Ferrante, and the king's preoccupation with these issues was in no way an indication of his coolness towards the pope's crusade plans.⁴⁷ 'Putas tu Pater sapientissime, te expeditionem in Turcas, exequi posse, Italia Genuensi bello implicita?'⁴⁸ Peace in Genoa was a prime means to facilitate the expedition against the Turks.⁴⁹ Indeed, it was a *belli iustam causam* to turn against the Genoese allies of the French and against Sigismondo Malatesta.⁵⁰

III

First things first, then. However, Ferrante was not averse to more grandiose offers when he was anxious to have the pope's attention. Writing to one of the cardinals, he said it was quite literally his dream of a few nights ago that he would organise an army against the Turks.⁵¹ A letter from the king to Pope Pius dated 9 November 1459 reflected his need to be sure of papal support when the French were known to be pressing as hard as possible the case for King René. Spelling out his titles of king of Sicily, Jerusalem and Hungary, Ferrante said he wanted to underline everything that had been said by the duke of Andria and by

⁴⁴ On which see also RFE, p. 310–311.

⁴⁵ Cod. arag., pp. 311–313, doc. 246; pp. 314–319, doc. 248.

⁴⁶ Cod. arag., p. 317, doc. 248.

⁴⁷ RFE, pp. 338–343.

⁴⁸ RFE, p. 341.

⁴⁹ RFE, p. 342.

⁵⁰ RFE, p. 343.

⁵¹ RFE, p. 386.

the archbishop of Benevento when they had been in the pope's presence; the king would provide whatever money and manpower was necessary 'ut necessaria ad tam pium opus contra perfidos Turchos tollendos exterminandosque parentur.'⁵² But in a subsequent letter of the same date the king made it plain that despite the prime concern of the Congress there were so many difficulties facing him in the *Regno*; thus it was not lack of will but domestic distraction that diverted him from a higher end; he had at any rate made every effort to give open support to the papacy.⁵³

The reply of Pope Pius to French grumbles about Ferrante's relationship with the papacy was uncompromising, not least because the French were assuming that papal rights within the *Regno* did not exist. But history proved that the crown of 'Sicily' was conferred by the pope, and it had been thanks to the pope that Charles of Anjou had been sent there in the first place.⁵⁴ The death of Alfonso the Magnanimous had simply meant that the crown of the *Regno* devolved upon the papacy.⁵⁵ The papacy was well aware that Ferrante was not a legitimate son, but it certainly had the apostolic authority to declare him legitimate, and heir to the kingdom; he had been properly invested with the kingdom and lawfully crowned, as well as enjoying popular support.⁵⁶ In his *Commentaries* Pope Pius remarks: 'the measures taken in regard to the kingdom of Sicily were neither unjust nor unreasonable. It was the complaints of the French which were unjust, since their rights had in no way been interfered with.'⁵⁷ King René should reflect on the importance of the Turkish question, and the way that a weakening of the common front in Italy posed the danger of offering the Turk to enter by an open door.⁵⁸ Naturally the emissaries of Charles VII of France tried to turn the tables by arguing that support for René would ensure greater enthusiasm in France for the papacy's objectives, not just the crusade but (so it was implied) a reconsideration of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which had long been an obstacle in papal-French relations.⁵⁹ The ambassador of King Ferrante, Andrea di Santa Cruce, also had his chance to reply to the French orators. Naturally he supported Pius' arguments about the rights of the papacy in southern Italy (even though Ferrante had not done so when Calixtus III had refused to recognise him

⁵² Cod. arag., p. 335, doc. 261.

⁵³ Cod. arag., p. 337, doc. 262. The document is expressed somewhat elliptically, however. A letter in Italian of 10 November is perhaps clearer and makes similar points: Cod. arag., p. 338, doc. 263.

⁵⁴ J.D. Mansi, *Pii II. P.M. olim Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini Senensis Orationes politicas et ecclesiasticas*, pars 2 (Lucca, 1767), pp. 40–72; L. d'Achery, *Spicilegium sive Collectio aliquot Scriptorum qui in Galliae Bibliothecis delituerant*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Paris, 1723), pp. 811–820. See also Pius II, *Commentaries*, part 2, p. 263.

⁵⁵ Mansi, *Orationes*, p. 59.

⁵⁶ Mansi, *Orationes*, p. 62.

⁵⁷ Pius II, *Commentaries*, part 2, p. 265.

⁵⁸ Mansi, *Orationes*, p. 67.

⁵⁹ D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, p. 822. The French used all means at their disposal, including secret audiences with the pope: Pius II, *Commentaries*, part 2, pp. 264, 266–267. On the second occasion it was the pope himself who advised them to seek a private rather than public confrontation: p. 266.

as king in 1458). He stressed the importance of unity among Christian princes, and he argued that Alfonso the Magnanimous's wishes about the succession had in any case been plain, as had the open support of Ferrante's vassals, even it was claimed the prince of Taranto, at the Capua parliament after his accession.⁶⁰ In the 'secret' version of his text, the pope remarked that he had known how to anticipate every argument of the French, 'and they could not find the smallest corner in which to take refuge.'⁶¹ In fact, 'the French were beaten at every point.'⁶² Pope Pius took personal delight in confounding the arrogance of the French.⁶³

At the end of the year, shortly before the closure of the Congress, Ferrante still showed an ability to play the 'Turkish card' effectively: his internal troubles with the prince of Taranto were accentuated by the traitor's links with the Turks themselves. The archbishop of Ravenna knew for a fact that the prince 'havea mandato uno suo homo proprio a lo Turcho, per havere practica et intelligentia cum lui.' The prince was thus a traitor to his faith as well as to his king, for while the pope worked for the 'oppressione de ipso Turco,' the prince entered into a league with the Infidel.⁶⁴ Pius II recorded his belief in such contacts in his memoirs.⁶⁵ Ferrante assured the pope in colourful terms (owed to the pen of Panormita) that he was the bitterest enemy of the Muslims, as well as being, as the pope well knew, a most observant and devoted Christian, anxious to protect the Church from the Turks in the best tradition of the house of Aragon.⁶⁶ Writing to one of his own legates, Ferrante heaped blame on the prince of Taranto for admitting a Turkish envoy into his presence, recalling the irruption of the Turks out of Asia and their vocation of spreading their hateful faith.⁶⁷ Whatever the truth about the accusations against Giovanni del Balzo Orsini, it should be remembered that the prince of Taranto controlled lands which stood at only a small remove from Albania, where the struggle between Scanderbeg and the Turks was drawing the Turks more (not less) into the western Balkans, with a consequent threat to southern Italy as well. Moreover, the Ionian islands were held by a branch of the Orsini family, and their fate would depend on that of Epiros and Elis.⁶⁸ The threat to southern Italy was, of course, vividly made plain two decades later with the seizure of Otranto by the Turks.⁶⁹

⁶⁰ A. Pellicia, *Raccolta di varie Croniche, Diari ed altri Opuscoli così italiani, come latini, appartenenti alla storia del Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1782), pp. 331–349.

⁶¹ Pius II, *Commentaries*, part 2, p. 267.

⁶² Pius II, *Commentaries*, part 2, p. 268.

⁶³ See also the comments of the Milanese envoy in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, doc. 35, p. 394.

⁶⁴ Cod. arag., pp. 368–369, doc. 294.

⁶⁵ Pius II, *Commentaries*, part 2, p. 229.

⁶⁶ RFE, pp. 393–394.

⁶⁷ RFE, p. 351. Here we see Beccadelli's hand.

⁶⁸ See for the Orsini in Cephalonia etc. D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1957; Cambridge 1984).

⁶⁹ On this, see the commemorative collection *Otranto 1480. Atti del Convegno internazionale*

IV

Later correspondence with the papacy, under Paul II, makes it plain that there were diplomatic exchanges between Ferrante and Mehmet the Conqueror, and that Ferrante was defensive enough about them to take care to inform the pope of their outcome. In so doing, he also stressed the enthusiasm he felt for the crusade in appropriately rousing language:

Mihi vero nihil gratius, nihil acceptius esse potest, quam si principes christiani, te præsertim auctore, percipiant meam adversum detestabilem regem turcarum voluntatem, illa quidem animo meo Sanctissimæ crucis cavo infixam iam, et a patre mihi quasi hereditariam relictam.⁷⁰

Further evidence for Ferrante's outlook may be found in another royal initiative. The Order of the Ermine was founded by Ferrante in 1465, and one of its members' declared duties was the war in defence of the Christian faith. Its statutes gave this some priority, and Boulton remarks that the emphasis is unusual.⁷¹

Volemo et ordenamo che li confratri del ordine predicto quanto in essi è possibile siano obbedienti a la dicta Ecclesia, et non recusino fatigha o periculo per defendere la christianità.⁷²

And again:

Et quando nui o li nostri successuri in questo ordine superiori ordinassemo, o vero ordinassero andare contra li inimici de la fede christiana, li Cavaleri del ordine che sono subjecti al dicto superiore siano tenuti andare in campo con ipso.⁷³

The king would even pay the stipend of knights who fought the enemies of the Faith in his service (these enemies are not, it should be noted, precisely defined as Turks or other Muslims). Yet Boulton is sceptical about this, remarking that Ferrante was not much interested in crusading, and so 'he probably included this requirement merely so that both he and the companions could boast of having undertaken a crusading vow, still evidently regarded as an undertaking essential for chivalric perfection.'⁷⁴ More realistically, these provisions reflect the natural awareness in southern Italy that war against the Muslims was being

di studio promosso in occasione del quinto centenario della caduta di Otranto ad opera dei Turchi (Otranto, 19–23 maggio 1980), ed. C. Damiano Fonseca, 2 vols. (Galatina, 1986).

⁷⁰ RFE, p. 441.

⁷¹ D'A.J.D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325–1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 418; see pp. 402–426 for an extensive account of the Order, to be complemented by British Library, Add. MS 28628 (its statutes in Latin), and G.F. Fusco's two studies: *Intorno all'Ordine dell'Armellino da Re Ferdinando I d'Aragona all'Arcangelo S. Michele dedicato* (Naples, 1844), and *I capitoli dell'Ordine dell'Armellino* (Naples, 1845), the latter printing an Italian version of the statutes.

⁷² Fusco, *I capitoli*, cap. 4, p. 13.

⁷³ Fusco, *I capitoli*, cap. 22, p. 22.

⁷⁴ Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. 418.

conducted on the *Regno's* doorstep; similar provisions already applied in the Order of the Knot founded a century earlier by Queen Joanna I's confidant Nicola Acciaiuoli. Thus it would be wrong to be too sceptical about the references to war against the enemies of Christendom. Of course, Ferrante's Order was founded to create a core of loyal barons dependent on the king's favour, and bears some comparison with René of Anjou's Order of the *Croissant* founded in 1448, which Pope Pius II actually ordered dissolved in 1461; the *Croissant* had some crusading associations, and there have even been attempts to see in its device a reflection of the Turkish crescent (which is very improbable), but the Ermine was apparently more committed to the crusade.⁷⁵ As in this case, so at the Congress of Mantua, the strengthening of royal power in southern Italy had to be the first priority for the king. This is not to say that interest in the crusade at Ferrante's court was hypocritical and insincere; the crusade did form part of the armoury of contemporary intellectuals, for whom the travails of the Eastern lands were reminiscent of invasions as remote in time as Darius' conquests in ancient Greece. And the proximity of the Turks to the Adriatic was an uncomfortable fact, made more so with the demise of Scanderbeg in 1468.⁷⁶

In many respects, Pius II and Ferrante were as one over the initial problem: Italy must be pacified as quickly as possible, and the way to achieve this was by securing a smooth succession for the Aragonese claimant to the south Italian crown. Pius thus was not 'used' by the Aragonese, but had every intention of furthering Ferrante's cause, and his reaction to French and Angevin counter-claims, moulded by his crusading aspirations, met the immediate needs of King Ferrante; the pope himself wrote to Ferrante on 24 October 1460 reminding him how much he had done for him:

Nos tuam causam in conventu Mantuano magnifice defendimus. Nos propter te magni et potentis Francie Regis inimicitias parvipindimus... Quantum pecuniarum exponuimus in hoc bello.⁷⁷

But Pius II had certainly been Ferrante's willing partner.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ M.T. Reynolds, 'René of Anjou, King of Sicily, and the Order of the Croissant,' *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), 125–161; see pp. 158–159 for the papal act of dissolution, which had little effect, however.

⁷⁶ S. Pollo. A. Puto (eds.), *Histoire de l'Albanie* (Roanne, 1974), pp. 94–98, for the hero's career from the Congress of Mantua onwards, expressed in particularly glowing terms.

⁷⁷ Pius II, *Epistolae* (Parma, 1473), fol. 112v.

⁷⁸ Mention should also be made of the curious literary exercises (as they appear to be) in *Regis Ferdinandi epistolae*, p. 442, entitled *Turcus Regi Ferdinandi and Rex Ferdinandus Turcus*. Ferrante is briefly congratulated in high-flown Latin on his victory over his enemies in the kingdom, replying: 'Hæc vero libentissime complector, eum tibi me videri, quem simul hostes ob virtutem admirari, et cives ob iustitiam colere possint.'

Immortalizing the Crusades: Law and Institutions*

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The most important consequences of the crusades arguably occurred not in the Holy Land or elsewhere in the Levant, but rather in Western Europe itself. Two centuries of crusading, to be sure, left odds and ends of tangible evidence scattered through the Middle East: a few dozen castles and churches, some other ruins and monuments, a small number of sculptures, manuscript illuminations, and other works of art, and similar physical mementos. They also left an intangible heritage of ill-will that has endured much more vigorously than one might like. But on the whole crusader society, crusader cities, crusader schools were remarkably evanescent. For the most part they have vanished from the Levant, almost as if they had never been, and Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon retain only scattered traces of the crusader states that once flourished there.¹

In the West, however, matters were quite different. There, even after the fall of Acre, the reconquest of the Morea by the Byzantines and the capture of Cyprus by the Turks, remnants of the crusades lingered on much longer and continued to maintain a living presence for centuries after the last crusader ships had put into dock and discharged their final passengers. The survival of the crusades in the West was a consequence of their institutionalization, of the incorporation of processes, systems and ideas that originated in medieval attempts to reconquer the Holy Land, but then remained part of European life for centuries after crusading had ceased.²

The principal instrument for institutionalizing the crusades was law, both civil and canon. The law of the medieval church vested crusading institutions with a kind of immortality that enabled them to survive the passing of the movement that originally brought them to life. Canon law — and the *ius commune* that it helped to spawn — thus made it possible to integrate some institutions and practices originally designed to further the crusading enterprise into European social systems.³

* It is a particular pleasure to dedicate this translated and updated paper to Hans Eberhard Mayer, for I first presented it in 1977, under the title 'Die Kreuzzüge: Recht und Institutionen,' to a memorable seminar at the Freie Universität in Berlin in which Hans participated.

¹ *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard, vol. 5 of *A History of the Crusades*, Kenneth M. Setton (general ed.) (Madison, 1985).

² *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. Harry W. Hazard and Norman P. Zacour, vol. 6 of *A History of the Crusades*, Kenneth M. Setton (general ed.) (Madison, 1989).

³ On the *ius commune* see Francesco Calasso, *Introduzione al diritto comune* (Milan, 1951) and Manlio Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe, 1000–1800*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, *Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law* 4 (Washington, D.C., 1995).

My own interest in these matters sprang from some questions about the recruitment of crusading armies: a fundamental problem in any attempt to understand how crusading actually worked. How did preachers manage to persuade great masses of Europeans to enlist in crusades? And when a preacher had convinced them to volunteer for the Holy War, how could the leader of a crusading force go about keeping his expedition in being once it ran into hardships and reverses? How could he prevent wholesale desertions when faced with adverse circumstances — with seemingly endless marches over difficult, poorly known terrain, surrounded by masses of hostile people, under strange, frightening, dangerous, unrelentingly harsh conditions?

Basic as these questions are, answers to them have not been easy to come by, although recent scholarship has greatly clarified some of them. Penny Cole and Christoph Maier, for example, have done a good deal to explain the techniques of the recruitment process,⁴ while Marcus Bull, John Pryor and William Chester Jordan, among others, have enlightened us considerably about the financial and logistical mechanisms that made crusading possible.⁵

One vitally important example of the institutionalization process began with the fundamental changes in crusader recruitment that occurred early in the thirteenth century. Prior to the pontificate of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) the recruitment of armies for each crusading expedition was almost an *ad hoc* affair. Popes prior to Innocent III commenced the recruiting process afresh when they proclaimed a crusade, for there was no sort of standing apparatus to facilitate the operation. After Innocent III, however, the situation appeared very different. The recruitment of crusaders became better organized, a development that continued during the pontificate of Innocent's successor, Honorius III (1216–1227).⁶ By the time of Gregory IX (1227–1241) crusade preaching had become a highly-organized multinational enterprise, conducted systematically and almost continuously by a regular cadre of crusade preachers, drawn mainly from the ranks of the new mendicant orders of friars.⁷

⁴ Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., vol. 28 (Cambridge, 1994).

⁵ Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford, 1993); John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571* (Cambridge, 1988); William C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, 1979). See in addition Fred A. Cazell, Jr., 'Financing the Crusades,' in *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, pp. 116–149; Giles Constable, 'The Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century,' in *Outremer*, pp. 64–88; Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade,' in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 101–108.

⁶ Helmut Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 21 (Göttingen, 1969), esp. pp. 268–291, and James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 67–87.

⁷ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 96–111.

Another change in crusade recruitment that commenced during the pontificate of Innocent III had to do with the population groups that crusade recruiters targeted. During the early period of crusading history the popes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries made it clear that they wished only able-bodied men with military qualifications to enlist in crusade expeditions. Urban II (1088–1099), Eugene III (1145–1153) and Gregory VIII (1187) pointedly discouraged monks, women, poor persons, those unfit to bear arms, elderly folk, or the infirm from taking the crusade vow. They advised even able-bodied men who wished to go on crusade to seek first the counsel of their confessors before obligating themselves by a crusade vow. Popes in this period particularly cautioned married men that they must secure the consent of their wives before enlisting in the crusade. Men who held lands in fee were likewise cautioned to secure the consent of their overlords before binding themselves to the crusading enterprise.⁸

Innocent III, however, also changed this policy radically. He and his successors instructed crusade preachers to cast their nets far more widely. Every Christian, regardless of status, according to the new policy, was not only eligible, but should positively be encouraged to enlist in the crusade. Men, women, children, the sick and the healthy, the young and the old, the married and the single, the rich and the poor — all should be invited to take the crusade vow.

Doing so was a very serious step. Those who made the crusade vow bound themselves to fulfill a legal obligation, one that by Innocent III's day was enforceable in the Courts Christian, which by this time were omnipresent throughout the length and breadth of Western Christendom.⁹ The gravity of the crusade obligation had prompted Innocent's predecessors try to restrict the making of crusade vows solely to those capable of fulfilling a crusader's duties in person. Innocent III adopted an altogether different strategy. In his view anyone at all could take the vow. Once the vow had been made, the newly-minted crusader could secure relief of one kind or another; through commutation, dispensation or redemption of the crusade obligation. The crusade vow thus became an all-purpose means to secure support for papal crusade policy. We shall return to the consequences of this development shortly.

A further development of legal doctrine, however, needs to be noted before examining the results of the changes just mentioned. The notion of votive obligations was a heritage from classical Roman law, the study of which was beginning to attract renewed interest in Western Europe at precisely the same time

⁸ James A. Brundage, 'A Transformed Angel (X 3.31.18): The Problem of the Crusading Monk,' in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History Presented to Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan*, Cistercian Studies 13 (Spencer, Mass., 1971), pp. 55–62, and 'The Crusader's Wife: A Canonistic Quandary,' *Studia Gratiana* 12 (1967), 427–441 = *idem*, *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law* (Aldershot, 1991), nos. 13 and 15, respectively.

⁹ On the crusade vow and the obligations it entailed see James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, 1969), esp. pp. 115–138.

that Pope Urban II proclaimed the First Crusade.¹⁰ Students of canon law from the mid-twelfth century onward were also keenly aware that taking a vow had serious juridical consequences, since Master Gratian had dealt with the matter at some length in his fundamental textbook, the *Decretum*, which he completed about 1140 or 1141.¹¹

Gratian taught that a vow created a personal obligation, but left it unclear whether the obligation survived the death of the person who made the vow.¹² Early in the thirteenth century, however, Pope Innocent III introduced the novel idea that a crusade vow might create an obligation *in rem*, which survived the death of its maker and remained binding upon his heirs. Innocent did this in a decretal letter known as *Licet universis*, dated in 1198.¹³ In it, Innocent informed Duke Andrew of Hungary that in order to inherit the Hungarian kingdom from his father, Andrew must fulfill the crusade obligation that his father left uncompleted at the time of his death. This new doctrine of the heritability of crusade obligations obviously extended the papacy's ability to exact crusade service, not only from those who personally took crusade vows but also, if need be, from their heirs in the next generation.

All of this raises the issue of the penalties that failure to fulfill a crusade obligation entailed. Since the crusade obligation was primarily a religious one, it seemed appropriate to impose spiritual sanctions for non-performance, especially since these spiritual sanctions also carried secular consequences as well. The most extreme penalty for non-performance of a crusade obligation was excommunication, the severest sanction available under canon law.¹⁴ Pope Paschal II (1099–1118) in 1099 had laid this punishment upon crusaders who left

¹⁰ Stephan Kuttner, 'The Revival of Jurisprudence,' in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 299–323; Peter Weimar, 'Die legistische Literatur der Glossatorenzeit,' in *Handbuch der Quellen und Literatur der neueren europäischen Privatrechtsgeschichte*, 1: *Mittelalter*, ed. Helmut Coing (Munich, 1973), pp. 129–260; Paul Koschaker, *Europa und das römische Recht* (Munich, 1947). In addition, Friedrich Carl von Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed., 7 vols. (1834–1851; repr. Aalen, 1986), despite its age, still remains indispensable.

¹¹ The literature on Gratian and his work is vast. See especially Stephan Kuttner, *Harmony from Dissonance: An Interpretation of Medieval Canon Law* (Latrobe, Penn., 1960) = *idem*, *History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 1–16; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 47–49; and Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 1: *Foundations* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 283–318. For the date of Gratian's *Decretum* see Gérard Fransen, 'La date du Décret de Gratien,' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 51 (1956), 521–531.

¹² Gratian, C. 17 q. 1 c. 1, 3 and d.p.c. 3. For the canonistic citation system employed here see James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London, 1995), pp. 190–202.

¹³ X 3.34.6; *Regesta pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV*, ed. August Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1874–79; hereafter cited as Potthast, *Regesta*), no. 4.

¹⁴ On the varieties of this sanction and its effects see Elisabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986).

the ranks of the First Crusade before arriving at Jerusalem.¹⁵ One well-known example of the effectiveness of this penal sanction during the First Crusade is the case of Stephen of Blois, whose checkered career I have examined in detail elsewhere.¹⁶

Since excommunication was such a severe punishment, however, popes and other bishops also experimented with milder penalties in order to persuade renegade crusaders to carry out the obligations that they had assumed. Thus Pope Paschal II counseled the bishops and abbots of France:

You should compel those especially who by a vow have taken the sign of the cross in this expedition to proceed there [i.e., to Jerusalem], unless poverty holds them back. Otherwise we decree that they shall be considered disreputable [*infames*]. Let those craven and cowardly men who fled from the siege of Antioch, however, remain under excommunication, unless they pledge, on reliable security, that they will return.¹⁷

Pope Paschal thus envisioned a twofold system to punish renegade crusaders. Those who failed to set out promptly became *infames*, a lesser, but still painful, penalty that entailed numerous disabilities, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs.¹⁸ Those who began the journey, but then deserted along the way, suffered the greater penalty of excommunication. The effects of both penalties were sufficiently uncomfortable that the pope and bishops had reason to hope that crusaders would find it easier to face up to the difficulties of making good their crusade obligations than to suffer the punishments inflicted upon the recalcitrant.

In addition to the penalties that could beset crusaders neglectful of their obligations, the crusade vow also carried positive advantages for those who fulfilled their duties. Chief among these was the spiritual benefit of the crusade indulgence. This is not the place to rehearse the knotty problems and scholarly disagreements that bedevil the history of the indulgence.¹⁹ It is perhaps sufficient to state here that Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont had promised

¹⁵ *Epistolae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes: Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 148–149; *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, ed. Philip Jaffé, rev. ed. by S. Löwenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, and P. Ewald, 2 vols. (1885–88; repr. Graz, 1956; hereafter cited as JL), no. 5812.

¹⁶ James A. Brundage, 'An Errant Crusader: Stephen of Blois,' *Traditio* 16 (1960) 380–395 = idem, *Crusades, Holy War, and Canon Law*, no. 2. For a rather different reading of the evidence see Paul Rousset, 'Étienne de Blois, croisé, fuyard et martyr,' *Genava*, ns. 11 (1963), 183–195.

¹⁷ *Epistolae et chartae*, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 176: 'Eos praesertim, qui huius militia uoto crucis signa sumpserunt, illuc properare compellite, nisi paupertatis retineantur obstaculo: alioquin eos infames haberi decernimus; qui uero de Antiochena obsidione fide pusillanimi et ambigua recesserunt, in excommunicatione permaneant, nisi se redituros certis securitatibus confirmauerint.'

¹⁸ Peter Landau, *Die Entstehung des kanonischen Infamiebegriffs von Gratian bis zur Glossa Ordinaria*, *Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht* 5 (Cologne, 1966); Francesco Migliorino, *Fama e infamia: Problemi della società medievale nel pensiero giuridico nei secoli XII e XIII* (Catania, 1985).

¹⁹ On these see Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 293–295, n. 15, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 26–30.

would-be recruits that participation in the crusade would satisfy the penance that they owed for their sins.²⁰ Similar statements reappeared in the letters of Paschal II dealing with the crusade,²¹ in canon 10 of the First Lateran Council (1123),²² in the crusade bull *Quantum predecessores* of Pope Eugene III,²³ and in letters of Popes Alexander III (1159–1181)²⁴ and Gregory VIII.²⁵ From the early thirteenth century, however, the nature of the crusade indulgence — and very quickly of other indulgences as well — came to be more precisely defined. This was due to the labors of academic canonists and theologians, who felt that they must somehow account for the pope's extraordinary power to grant remission of the punishments that sinners merited.²⁶ A development and refinement in understanding of the content and value of the crusade indulgence became strikingly evident in the constitution *Ad liberandam* of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Whereas earlier papal statements concerning the indulgence had described it in terms of the remission of the penances enjoined for sins, the 1215 constitution enunciated a grander and more generous promise of spiritual reward:

We therefore trusting in the mercy of almighty God and by the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which confers upon us, unworthy as we may be, the power of binding and loosing, grant to all who participate in this enterprise in their own persons and at their own expense a complete remission of their sins that they have confessed orally and with contrite heart and in return we promise an increase in the eternal salvation of the just.²⁷

²⁰ Council of Clermont (1095) c. 2 (Arras version): 'Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecunie adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Hierusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni penitentia ei reputetur,' in *The Councils of Urban II*, 1: *Decreta Claromontensia*, ed. Robert Somerville, *Annuario historiarum conciliorum*, Supp. 1 (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 74. Urban II described the 'indulgence' in very similar terms in his recruiting letters to the people of Bologna and the Flemings: *Epistulae et chartae*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 136, 137.

²¹ *Epistulae et chartae*, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 175.

²² 1 Lateran (1129) c. 10, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols. (London, 1990), p. 191.

²³ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius chronica* 1.37, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale, (1965), p. 206.

²⁴ PL 200:599–600; JL 11637.

²⁵ PL 202:1539–42; JL 16019.

²⁶ For a brief account of these developments, with bibliographical references, see Elisabeth Vodola, 'Indulgences,' in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Joseph R. Strayer, editor-in-chief, 13 vols. (New York, 1982–1989), 6:446–450.

²⁷ 4 Lateran (1215) c. 71: 'Nos ergo de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa quam nobis, licet indignis, Deus ligandi atque soluendi contulit potestatem, omnibus qui laborem istum in propriis personis subierint et expensis, plenam suorum peccaminum de quibus ueraciter fuerint corde contriti et ore confessi ueniam indulgemus et in retributione iustorum salutis eterne pollicemur augmentum.' *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum*, ed. Antonio García y García, *Monumenta iuris canonici*, Corpus glossatorum 2 (Vatican City, 1981), p. 117. For a slightly different text and English translation, see also *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Tanner, pp. 270–271.

Later popes and councils repeated precisely this same formula, which became the standard form for the grant of crusade indulgences throughout the later Middle Ages and survived into the early modern period as well.²⁸

Medieval recipients of the crusade indulgence, whether in its early or its more developed form, were blissfully unaware of the difficulties that modern scholars experience when they try to determine its scope and meaning. The subtleties that perplex the learned held little meaning for them. The chroniclers who reported the deeds of the First Crusaders, for example, accepted without apparent qualms the proposition that the pope had granted crusaders a full and unqualified remission of their sins and they understood this to mean that the indulgence wiped the moral slate clean. Thus, as they described matters, a crusader who died on the journey to Jerusalem could count securely on immediate salvation. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* rendered Urban II's promise to crusaders in these words: 'Anyone who wishes to save his soul should not hesitate to set out on the way of the Lord.'²⁹ Fulcher of Chartres exclaimed at the thousands of martyred crusaders who found eternal life as their reward for taking the cross,³⁰ while the *Gesta Francorum* describes the souls of crusaders killed at Nicaea marching triumphantly from the dust of the battlefield straight through Heaven's gates.³¹ This view of the effects of the crusade indulgence were not confined to the historians of the First Crusade. Preachers and chroniclers of other expeditions fully agreed with these ideas. Thus, for example, St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) when recruiting for the Second Crusade claimed that those who took the cross received total forgiveness for their sins:

Take the sign of the cross and you will receive remission of everything that you have confessed with humble and contrite heart.... If you place [the cross] on your shoulder it unquestionably merits the kingdom of God.³²

²⁸ Thus, eg., 1 Lyons (1245), pt. 2 c. 5; 2 Lyons (1274) c. 1c, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Tanner, pp. 301, 312; Gregory IX (1236) in *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici*, ed. Ernst Strehlke (1869; repr. Toronto, 1975), no. 203 (1236), p. 196; Gregory IX (1238) in Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 10525; Alexander IV (1256), in Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 16163; Urban IV, *Les registres d'Urbain IV (1261–1264): Recueil des bulles de ce pape*, ed. Jean Guiraud in Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd ser., 3 vols. (Paris, 1901–1958), no. 467 (1263), 2:226–228; Gregory X (1273), in Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 20755; Nicholas IV (1291), in Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 23609. See also Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1987), pp. 235–236, 238–239, 248–249, 251, and José Gofí Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, Victoriensiensia 4 (Vitoria, 1958), pp. 462–464, on crusade indulgences in the early modern period.

²⁹ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* 1, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), p. 1: '[S]i quis animam suam saluam facere uellet, non dubitaret humiliter uiam incipere Domini.'

³⁰ FC pr. 4, p. 117: 'O quot milia martyrum in hac expeditione beata morte finierunt!'

³¹ *Gesta Francorum* 2.8, ed. Hill, p. 17: '[M]ulti ex nostris illic receperunt martyrium, et letantes gaudentesque reddiderunt felices animas Deo; et ex pauperrima gente multi mortui sunt fame pro Christi nomine. Que in caelum triumphantes portarunt stolam recepti martyrii, una uoce dicentes: "Vindica Domine sanguinem nostrum, qui pro te effusus est; qui es benedictus et laudabilis in secula seculorum. Amen."'

³² St Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epist.* 363, in PL 182:567: 'Suscipe crucis signum, et omnium pariter, de quibus corde contrito confessionem feceris, indulgentiam obtinebis.... Si devoto assumitur humero,

This was undoubtedly the popular understanding of the matter. Academic theologians, like modern scholars, were not so sure. St Bonaventure (c. 1217–1274), for one doubted that all crusaders would be saved, as St Bernard seemed to believe. Crusaders, Bonaventure warned, could well suffer the fate of the bad thief who suffered with Christ on the cross, but nonetheless wound up in hell.³³

Crusade preachers and their audiences seem not to have been much troubled by such professorial reservations. Numerous sources testify that the faithful generally believed that the crusade indulgence guaranteed salvation. Villehardouin (c. 1150–c. 1213) was almost certainly right when he remarked: 'This pardon was so great that it moved the hearts of the people and many of them took the cross because the indulgence was so great.'³⁴

Crusaders, moreover, enjoyed further spiritual privileges in addition to the indulgence. They were intended to be the primary beneficiaries of the prayers and services of intercession offered by the faithful for the protection of the Holy Land — thus Pope Innocent III in 1213, for example, required every parish in Latin Christendom to hold a monthly procession and prayer service for crusaders.³⁵ Other bishops and local synods ordained similar intercessory services as well.³⁶ Crusaders were further entitled, unlike virtually everyone else, to deal with excommunicated persons and to receive the sacraments during interdict without themselves falling under the ecclesiastical ban.³⁷ This privilege was calculated to ease the difficulties of carrying out the crusader's legal obligations, since he might readily encounter situations where his journey brought him into contact with persons whom ordinary Christians were required to shun. In addition, the confessors of crusaders had wide latitude to dispense them from numerous other irregularities and to grant pardon for most types of offenses that ordinarily were reserved to papal jurisdiction.³⁸

valet sine dubio regnum Dei.'

³³ St Bonaventure, *Sermo I* for the Tuesday after Pentecost in his *Opera omnia*, ed. A.C. Peltier, 15 vols. (Paris, 1864–71), 13:311.

³⁴ Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople* 1.1, ed. Edmond Faral, 2 vols., Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge (Paris, 1961), 1:4: 'Porce que cil pardons fu issi granz, si s'en esmurent mult li cuer des gens, et mult s'encroisierent porce que li pardons ere si granz.'

³⁵ Innocent III, *Registrum* 16.28, PL 216:817–822; Potthast, *Regesta* no. 4725.

³⁶ Eg., in England the Statutes of Worcester II (1229) c. 30; Legatine Council of London (1268) c. 35; Council of the Province of Canterbury (1292) c. 1; in *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964) 1:175 and 2:781–782, 1104–1105.

³⁷ X 5.38.11 and 5.39.34; Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 1947, 5042; on the ban see Gratian, C. 11 q. 3 c. 102–105, and Vodola, *Excommunication*, pp. 44–69.

³⁸ Gregory IX, *Les registres de Grégoire IX: Recueil des bulles de ce pape*, no. 2757, ed. Lucien Auvray in *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 2nd ser., 3 vols. (Paris, 1896–1955), 2:159; Potthast, *Regesta*, 10011; John XXII, *Lettres communes*, no. 63881, ed.

These spiritual privileges, important as they were, comprised only part of the bundle of crusader privileges. Crusaders, for one thing, enjoyed the right to papal protection, so that anyone who attacked a crusader, his wife, family or property, was automatically excommunicated. According to Bernard of Pavia (d. 1213) people considered this privilege so valuable that travelers through dangerous territories commonly took the cross simply in order to assure their safety from attack.³⁹ In theory bishops and other local ecclesiastical authorities were supposed to enforce this papal protection. The theory worked rather erratically in practice, however, and authorities sometimes found it difficult, or even impossible, to bring violators of the privilege to heel — at least in this life. The experiences of King Richard I on the Third Crusade amply illustrate the difficulties of enforcement.⁴⁰ Despite the problems, however, the papal curia apparently did a brisk business in issuing documents that certified an individual's crusader status and entitlement to this and other privileges.⁴¹

Crusaders enjoyed further temporal privileges as well. They could mortgage real and personal property, including ecclesiastical benefices to defray the expenses of their journey, even when this might infringe the rights of others. They were also entitled to a three-year moratorium on repayment of the principal of their loans and were immune to tolls and taxes while on crusade. In addition crusaders were eligible to receive financial subventions from taxes especially collected to subsidize crusading ventures. The papacy furthermore demanded that the courts expedite settlement of lawsuits brought by crusaders, while at the same time guaranteeing them a three-year moratorium on responding to judicial citations in cases where they were defendants.⁴²

Privileges such as these were obviously open to manipulation. In response to abuses of crusade privileges, medieval money-lenders and other creditors quickly became extremely cautious when they dealt with crusaders. After the middle of the thirteenth century commercial contracts frequently incorporated clauses by

Guillaume Mollat and G. de Lesquen in *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 3rd ser., 16 vols. (Paris, 1904–47), 13:192.

³⁹ Bernard of Pavia, *Summa de matrimonio* 3.3., ed. E.A.T. Laspeyres (1860; repr. Graz, 1956) p. 290.

⁴⁰ James A. Brundage, 'The Crusade of Richard I: Two Canonical Quaestiones,' *Speculum* 38 (1963) 443–452 [= idem, *Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law*, no. 3], as well as 'Crusaders and Jurists: The Legal Consequences of Crusader Status,' forthcoming in the papers of the colloquium, *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095, et l'appel à la croisade*, held at Clermont-Ferrand in June, 1995. See also St Bonaventure's comment that papal protection of crusaders was frequently violated: *Sermo III* for the Sunday within the octave of Easter in his *Opera omnia*, ed. Peltier 13:236.

⁴¹ See, eg., the forms for such letters edited by Peter Herde in *Audientia litterarum contradictarum: Untersuchungen über die päpstlichen Justizbriefe und die päpstliche Delegationsgerichtsbarkeit vom 13. bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom 31–32 (Tübingen, 1970) 2:23–24, 55, 80, 101, 464–465, and passim.

⁴² For a survey of these privileges see Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, pp. 170–187.

which the parties renounced the exercise of crusading privileges and promised that they would not invoke those privileges if disagreement arose. Such clauses continued to appear in French contracts as late as the mid-seventeenth century.

The system of privileges that I have described here developed gradually in response to the difficulties and demands that successive generations of crusaders encountered. It also long outlasted the crusades to the Holy Land and remained lodged in the legal systems of the Continental *ius commune* until well into the early modern period.⁴³ The most remarkable instance of the survival of medieval crusading privileges appears in the history of the Spanish and Portuguese conquests in Latin America and the Philippines. The *conquistadores* wore the insignia of the cross, just as medieval crusaders had done, and they likewise enjoyed the whole gamut of crusading privileges. Crusade preachers, particularly Dominican and Franciscan friars, recruited volunteers for the conquest of Latin America in much the same way that their predecessors had done for the thirteenth-century crusades. Sixteenth-century canonists and theologians, moreover, employed the same arguments to justify the *conquista* that medieval canonists and theologians had devised in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Thus both the intellectual and institutional foundations of European expansion in the sixteenth century rested squarely on the medieval crusades, which provided their rationale and much of their structure.⁴⁴ Likewise, as I have argued elsewhere, the law of war as it developed in late medieval and the early modern Europe had many of its roots in the rationale originally created to account for and to give intellectual respectability to the crusading enterprise.⁴⁵ Indeed, even modern international law continues to rely in part on notions that ultimately stem from the medieval crusades.⁴⁶

Thus I return to the theme with which I began: the crusades had their greatest, longest-lasting influence not in the Holy Land, but rather in Western Europe. Western Christendom was both the chief beneficiary and, one might also argue, the chief victim of the law and institutions that grew out of the crusades.

⁴³ See above, n. 3.

⁴⁴ James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250–1550*, 1979), esp. pp. 132–152, and 'A Canonistic Contribution to the Formation of International Law,' *The Jurist* 28 (1968), 265–279; Kenneth Pennington, 'Bartolomé de las Casas and the Tradition of Medieval Law,' *Church History* 29 (1970), 1–13; D. Carro Venancio, *La teología y los teólogos-juristas españoles ante la conquista de América*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1935).

⁴⁵ James A. Brundage, 'Holy War and the Medieval Lawyers,' in *The Holy War*, ed. Thomas P. Murphy (Columbus, 1976), pp. 99–140 = *Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law*, no. 10; Maurice H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (1965; repr. Aldershot, 1993).

⁴⁶ See the references in James A. Brundage, 'The Hierarchy of Violence in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Canonists,' *International History Review* 17 (1995), 670–692 at 670–671.

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Abbreviations

ab	abbot of
abs	abbess of
archbp	archbishop of
bp	bishop of
bro	brother of
c	count of
cal	caliph
cast	castellan of
const	constable of
d	duke of
e	emperor

H	Hospital of St John
k	king of
l	lord of
m	master of
patr	patriarch of
pr	prince of
q	queen of
St	saint
su	sultan (of)
T	Templars
vct	viscount of

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